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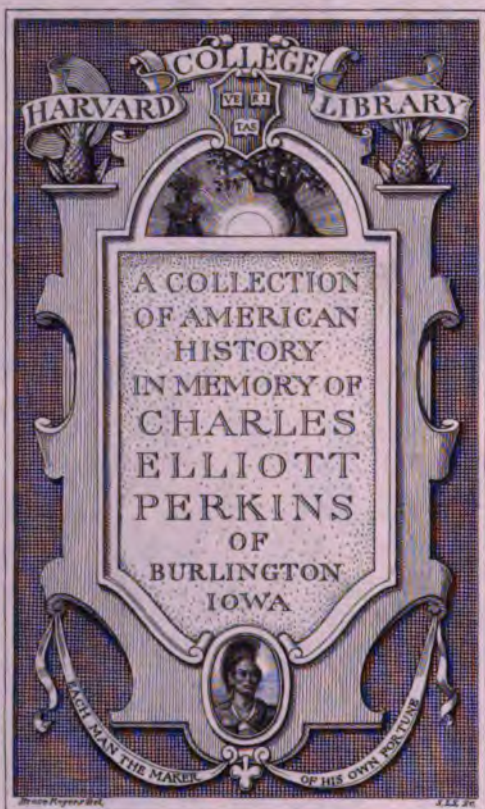
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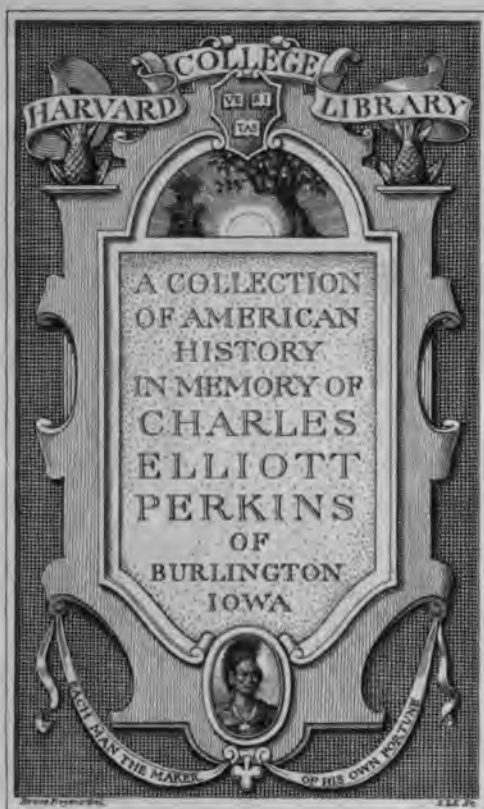
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**THE BEGINNINGS OF
SAN FRANCISCO**

.

THE VISION OF ANZA
Drawn by WALTER FRANCIS.

The
Beginnings of San Francisco

from the

Expedition of Anza, 1774

to the

City Charter of April 15, 1850

With Biographical and Other Notes



By

ZOETH SKINNER ELDREDGE



SAN FRANCISCO
ZOETH S. ELDREDGE
1912



THE VISION OF ANSA
Drawn by WALTER FRANCIS.

1911

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INTRODUCTION

*"Bells of the Past, whose long forgotten music
Still fills the wide expanse,
Tingeing the sober twilight of the Present
With the color of romance."*

THE years following the discovery of America witnessed scenes of marvellous adventure and the new continent became a region of wonder and mystery. No tale was too extravagant for belief and by every ship from the New World the store of marvels was increased. The lure of gold and the glories of conquest drew adventurers from all quarters of the kingdom of Spain. The needy gentleman relied on his sword to carve out for him a fortune, if not a principality, and his humble follower saw opportunity open before him and the possibility of his being made a gentleman. Ponce de Leon gave his life to the search for gold and for the fountain of youth. The exploits of Cortés filled Spain with amazement. Pánfilo de Narvaez perished miserably in an endeavor to conquer Florida, and the waters of the Mississippi closed over the ambitions and hopes of De Soto.

The bull of Pope Alexander VI. divided the New World between Spain and Portugal, giving to Spain all west of a line drawn, by agreement between the two powers, from north to south three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde islands—about longitude $43^{\circ} 15'$ west from Greenwich. The English claimed the right to trade with all the Span-

ish possessions by virtue of a treaty of trade and amity made in the reign of Charles V., but Spain disputed this interpretation of the treaty and maintained that there was "no peace beyond the line"; i. e. the line of Pope Alexander, a maxim which the English freebooters turned against the Spaniards and preyed upon and plundered their ships and their possessions in the West Indies.

For more than two hundred years California remained unexplored. It did not hold out the promise of glory and riches such as fired the imagination of the adventurers of the sixteenth century and it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that the king of Spain, warned by the openly expressed hostility of the English cabinet towards the Bourbons as well as by the steady advance of the Russians on the Northwestern coast of America, realized that military necessity demanded the occupation of long neglected California and the establishment of an outpost to show to the world that Spain would protect her domain from invasion and insult. Though in her decadence Spain still commanded the services of warriors and statesmen.

This work is not a history of California, but in accounting for the existence of San Francisco it has been found necessary to give some brief statements concerning the settlement of the country, the character of its people, and the occurrences which preceded and led to the rise of the modern city. The romance with which California history abounds adds

much to its attractiveness, but however pleasing tales of wonders and of marvelous adventure may be to those Californians whose state pride is gratified by having an interesting and romantic past added to the glories of climate, scenery, and other attractions, such tales should not be permitted to usurp the place or exclude matter of historical importance. The romance of California history has been somewhat overdone by writers who, in their pursuit of striking and romantic incident, have failed to understand and appreciate the true significance of events, and have, in consequence, spread before the people a vast amount of misinformation and have raised to the rank of heroes men of very ordinary attainments, or those whose service to the state was of doubtful honor, while overlooking men whose character and achievement entitle them to the highest place in the respect and esteem of the people. It will be my duty and pleasure to remedy this misconception of history so far as lies in my power. This work is the result of a study of original documents and the statements of contemporary writers and of actors in the events described; and it is none the less interesting because true.

The passing of the great Spanish families closes a period of California history. The Spanish era is a memory of the past. Travelers tell us of a people of Arcadian simplicity, of grace and dignity, who received the stranger with courtesy and entertained him with a hospitality that knew no bounds. Of

these people, who came into an untamed country and conquered it for civilization, the California of to-day knows but little. Few are the citizens of San Francisco who have even heard the name of Juan Bautista de Anza, its founder. Yet he was a gallant soldier and he executed with courage, energy, and fidelity the difficult task entrusted to him by his king, of bringing across deserts and over high sierras the settlers for a city whose destiny neither king nor captain could imagine. In making my countrymen acquainted with this accomplished soldier and gentleman I feel that I am doing them a service.

After the American occupation San Francisco grew rapidly, and with the immigration following the gold discovery it suddenly became a large city, with all a city's needs and perplexities. The thousands thus thrown together had no thought for charters or constitutions. They came only for gold, and then for a quick return home. The disorders to be looked for in such a community, formed of people gathered from all parts of the world, made necessary some form of organization for the protection of life and property. The Americans were largely in the majority and with their executive instinct for self-government, order was gradually evolved from chaos.

Had Anza been gifted with prophetic vision as he stood on the summit of the presidio hills, what a strange sight would meet his eyes! He would see spread before him, to the east and south, a great and

beautiful city; under the shelter of the hills he would see a great military camp, and floating above it a strange flag,—the flag of a nation he knew not of: a nation which at the time of his journey was in the throes of parturition; beyond, he would see upon the waters of the bay the traffic of a great seaport, while upon the *contra costa* he would see other cities lining the shores for many miles. A mighty change has taken place since he looked upon the solitude of San Francisco bay. Plumed cavalier and barefooted friar are alike gone. The power of Spain has departed and the youngest of the great nations of the earth possesses the land.

San Francisco,
December 8, 1911.

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CHAPTER I.

**THE DISCOVERY OF THE
BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO
1769**

IN the beginning of the year 1769, Don José de Galvez, visitador general of Spain and member of the council of the Indies, sent an expedition under command of Don Gaspar de Portolá to take possession of and fortify the ports of San Diego and Monterey in Alta California. The expedition consisted of two sea and two land divisions with the rendezvous at San Diego Bay. By the first of July, 1769, the divisions were assembled at San Diego and on the 14th, the march to Monterey began. On the last day of September, the command reached Monterey Bay, but failing to recognize it from the description furnished them, passed on and discovered the bay of San Francisco. The expedition then returned to San Diego, and in the spring of 1770, another attempt was made and Monterey was reached on May 24th. This time they recognized the bay and on June 3, 1770, the presidio and mission of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey¹ were founded with appropriate ceremonies.

In a previous work I stated that José Francisco Ortega, sergeant and pathfinder of the expedition, was the discoverer of the Golden Gate and of the Straits of Carquines.* As commander of the expedition, Portolá is entitled to the credit for whatever the expedition accomplished, but it is nowhere claimed that Don Gaspar was the first white man to look upon the waters of the great bay. From the

* *The March of Portolá and the Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco.*

summit of the Montara mountains, Portolá sighted the high headland of Point Reyes and recognized what was then called the Port of San Francisco, afterwards known as the ensenada or gulf of the Farallones. He descended the mountain on the north and camped at its foot, in the San Pedro Valley, while he sent his scouts forward to explore the coast up to Point Reyes', giving them three days for the reconnaissance. The scouts returned late at night of the third day and reported that they could not reach Point Reyes because some immense esteros (*esteros inmensos*) intervened which extended far into the land. The day following the departure of the scouts, some soldiers received permission to go into the mountains to hunt for deer. These returning after nightfall, reported that on the other side of the mountain there was a great estero or arm of the sea.

The question of actual discovery of the bay lies between the party of hunters and the scouts. Let us first consider the claims of the hunters. Costansó, engineer officer, cartographer, and diarist of the expedition, says in his diary, under date of November 2d, that the hunters set out in the morning after mass and did not return until after nightfall. They reported that from the mountains north of the camp they had seen an immense arm of the sea or estuary which thrust itself into the land as far as the eye could reach, inclining to the southeast (*que se metía por la tierra adentro cuanto alcanzaba la vista tirando*

para el sudeste). These hunters of the deer, whose names are not given, probably saw the bay of San Francisco about noon of Thursday, November 2, 1769.

Under date of Wednesday, November 1, 1769, Father Crespi, priest and diarist of the expedition, writes: "In this little valley of the Punta de las Almejas del Angel de la Guarda, we celebrated mass, * * * and after this the sergeant (Ortega) with his party started for a three days' exploration."

His entry for the next day, November 2d, notes the report of the hunters concerning the great estero, and says: "We conjectured also from said news that the explorers would not be able to reach the opposite shore which is seen to the north [the Marin coast] and would therefore be unable to inspect the point which we believed to be that of Los Reyes, because it was impossible within the period of three days to make the circuit necessary to go around the estero whose extension was so magnified to us by the hunters."

Costansó, moreover, under date of November 1, says: "Our comandante ordered the explorers to examine the country to a certain distance, allowing them three days for such examination." He also says in his entry of the next day, that in view of the report of the hunters the explorers could not in three days "descabezar" (behead) an estero of such great extent as that described.

From San Pedro Valley, Crespi's "Vallecito de la Punta de las Almejas del Angel de la Guarda,"

to Point Lobos is, as the crow flies, thirteen miles. From Point Lobos to Telegraph hill* is six miles. According to Crespi, Ortega started immediately after mass—say at eight o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, November 1st. He would travel at the rate of one league per hour, at least, and five hours of travel would bring him to Point Lobos where his further progress towards Point Reyes would be arrested by the waters of the Golden Gate.

He had been given three days' time to explore the coast up to Punta de los Reyes, say twenty leagues distant. Here in half a day's journey, with only five of the twenty leagues accomplished, he had come to the end of the land, with the objective point of his order still in the distance before him. What was he to do? Return to the commander and report that he could not get through? Certainly not until he had satisfied himself that the terms of the order were impossible of execution without boats to carry him over the water. Ortega was thirty-five years old and had served for fourteen years as a soldier on the frontier; he was the explorer and pathfinder of the expedition and upon his experience, sagacity, and courage his commander depended. He had exhausted but one-half of the first of his three days. Perhaps it was possible for him to *descabezar* this body of water that impeded his progress? It was clearly his duty to try, and I do not think there can be any doubt as to what

* Loma Alta, the high hill north of Yerba Buena cove.

Ortega would do. The language of both Costansó and Crespi indicates that Ortega connected the water which had barred his progress with the estero seen by the hunters. A ride of half or three-quarters of an hour would bring him to the *mesa*, back of Fort Point, whence the central and northern portions of the bay and the Alameda and Contra Costa shores would be in full view, while a further ride of three-quarters of an hour would carry him to Telegraph hill, from the summit of which the greater part of the bay of San Francisco would spread before him. On this theory then, Ortega would, by two or half past two o'clock of the afternoon of November 1st, have seen that part of the bay lying north of Yerba Buena island, and by or before four o'clock the greater part of the whole.

I am of the opinion therefore, that José Francisco Ortega was the actual discoverer of the bay of San Francisco, and that he saw it some twenty hours before the hunters of the deer.

The second day of Ortega's expedition was probably spent in exploring the shore of the bay and the third in his return, by the route of his coming, to the camp at San Pedro.³

That the commander realized the impossibility of reaching Punta de los Reyes by proceeding up the ocean shore is shown by the fact that the day after Ortega's return he took up his march for the south end of San Francisco Bay and made an attempt to reach Point Reyes by the *contra costa*.



CHAPTER II.

EXPLORATION OF THE
BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO
1770-1775



PORTOLÁ established the presidio and mission of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey, June 3, 1770, and dispatched a messenger to the City of Mexico to the Marques de Croix, Viceroy of New Spain, announcing the addition of a new province to the realms of His Most Catholic Majesty, Don Carlos III. For more than two hundred years Spain had claimed the Pacific coast of North America up to forty-two degrees but had done nothing to maintain her right by settlement. Now, in the foundation of Monterey, Alta California was brought under the flag of Spain and all nations were notified that she would protect her land from invasion and insult. The news of Portolá's success was received with joy and steps were at once taken to found on the shores of the great bay so recently discovered an establishment which, it was thought, would develop into a great commercial city. Portolá had been ordered to establish three missions: one at San Diego, one at Monterey, and one at some intermediate point, to be named for the good *doctor serafico*, San Buenaventura.⁴ It was now resolved to found five more missions in the new province and the guardian of the college of San Fernando was asked to furnish ten additional missionaries. The five missions proposed were San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, San Francisco, and Santa Clara.

On November 12, 1770, the viceroy instructed Don Pedro Fages, comandante of California, to explore

the port of San Francisco for the purpose of establishing a presidio and mission there, since a place so important ought not to remain exposed to foreign occupation. This order was received by Fages some six months later. Fages had but nineteen men at Monterey, while at San Diego, Rivera had twenty-two. This was the entire military force in California. Two missions: San Diego and Monterey, had been founded, but the establishment of San Buenaventura had been delayed by lack of troops. Rivera was ordered to send a portion of his force to Fages in order that the latter might make the reconnaissance of San Francisco, but the Indians at San Diego were manifesting a hostile disposition and Rivera would not divide his force. So it was not until March 1772 that Fages found himself able to obey the order to explore the port of San Francisco.* On the 22d of March 1772, Fages left the presidio of Monterey with a guard of twelve soldiers, Father Juan Crespi, two servants, and a pack train, and taking a northeasterly course camped the first night on the bank of the Salinas river. The next morning they crossed the plains of Santa Delfina (Salinas valley), passed over the Gavilan mountains by the cañon of Gavilan creek, and descended into the San Benito valley, camping on the bank of the Arroyo de San Benito on the 21st, the day of St. Benedict, giving the stream the name it now bears.

* Fages had made a brief trip to the bay of San Francisco in November, 1770, and explored the contra costa to the Carquines straits.

The beautiful valley they called San Pascual Bailón. The next day they crossed the Pájaro river and entered the San Bernardino valley, naming it for Saint Bernardine of Siena, and camped for the night on an arroyo which they called Las Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco—The Wounds of Our Father St. Francis. Ancient San Bernardino is now a part of the Santa Clara valley, but the Arroyo de Las Llagas still retains the name Fages gave it. The next day they passed into the upper Santa Clara valley, then called the Llano de Los Robles—the Plain of the Oaks—and keeping to the right of the great estero camped on an arroyo near the southeastern point of the bay. On Wednesday March 25th, they camped on San Leandro creek, called by them San Salvador de Horta. Thursday the 26th they were on the site of Alameda, then covered with a forest of oaks, and called the San Antonio creek, Arroyo del Bosque—Creek of the Grove. Looking across to the Golden Gate they named it La Bocana de la Ensenada de los Farallones—The Entrance to the Gulf of the Farallones. On Friday they looked from the Berkeley hills through the Golden Gate to the broad Pacific. The next two days they followed the shore of San Pablo bay, hoping to get to the high sierra they saw to the north of La Bocana and reach Point Reyes near which, they believed, was the real port they were seeking. This they could not do because of an estero, quarter of a league wide, deep, and impassable without

boats. To the mountain of the north* they gave the name La Sierra de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, as it seemed to be the guardian of his port. On the opposite bank of that estero we call Carquines strait, they saw many rancherías whose Indians called to them, and seeing that the strangers were passing on, crossed the strait on their tule rafts and presented the travelers with their wild eatables.

Following up the estero, they camped March 30th on an arroyo near the present Martinez and the next day passed on to the site of Antioch. They tasted the waters of Carquines strait and Suisun bay and found them fresh, then climbing the hills they looked upon the great valley with its rivers dividing themselves into many branches, all of which united to form one great river before entering La Bahia Redonda. To this mighty river "the largest that has been discovered in New Spain" Fages gave the name of San Francisco. Satisfied that it was impossible to reach Point Reyes by this route with his present equipment, Fages returned to Monterey and made his report to the viceroy.⁵

On August 17, 1773, Bucaréli ordered Rivera, who had succeeded Fages, to make a further exploration of the port of San Francisco and of the great river that emptied into it, and on the 23d of November 1774, Rivera with Father Palou and an escort of sixteen soldiers with forty days' provision, left Monterey and took his way to the famous port.

* Tamalpais.

Keeping to the west of the bay they found themselves at 11.30 a. m. of November 28th on a deep arroyo through which ran about two *bucyes** of water, its banks well covered with poplars, willows, laurels, and other trees, while some hundred paces below the ford stood a great redwood (*madera colorada*), seen for more than a league before reaching the arroyo, and which from a distance looked like a tower. They camped on the north bank of the stream and believing it to be a good place for a mission erected a cross near the ford. Palou writes "In this same place the first expedition (Portolá) arrived, and was the limit it reached, and where it stopped the 7, 8, 9, and 10th days of December, '69, while the explorers were looking for the port of San Francisco." They were on the Arroyo de San Francisco, or as it is now called, the San Francisquito creek, and the great redwood described is the famous *palo alto* (high tree) of Stanford University.)

On March 30th they passed through the Cañada de San Andrés and gave it that name, it being the day of St. Andrew, though it had been previously named by Portolá the Cañada de San Francisco. It now belongs to the Spring Valley Water Company and in it are the company's principal reservoirs. On December 4th, Rivera and Palou planted a cross on Point Lobos at a place "that had not, up to this

* A *Bucy de Agua* is the unit of the old Mexican system. It is the amount of water that will pass through an orifice one vara (2.75 ft.) square. I am supplied with this definition by Mr. Charles F. Lummis of Los Angeles.

time, been trodden by Spaniard or other Christian," and where it could be seen from the beach. The weather was bad and Rivera returned to Monterey without further exploration.

In March 1775 an expedition for exploring the northern coast sailed from San Blas under command of Don Bruno de Heceta, consisting of the frigate Santiago in charge of the commander-in-chief, the packet boat San Carlos under Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, lieutenant of frigate, and the schooner Sonora under Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, lieutenant of frigate. To Lieutenant Ayala was assigned the survey of the bay of San Francisco, while the Santiago and Sonora sailed for the north. Bodega discovered the bay that bears his name and Heceta discovered the Columbia river. Sailing with the squadron was a supply ship, the San Antonio, under Lieutenant Fernando Quiros, bound for San Diego.

For forty days Ayala faced contrary winds steadily driven southward to latitude $18^{\circ} 40'$, and it was not until June 11th that he reached Cape San Lucas. From now on his progress was steady if slow, and on the 29th he cast anchor in Monterey bay, 101 days from San Blas. Here he unloaded the cargo of stores brought for the Monterey presidio, made some needed repairs, took on ballast and wood and water, and prepared for the expedition to San Francisco bay. He also constructed on the Rio Carmelo, a *cayuco*—a canoe or dugout—from the trunk of a redwood tree, to assist in the survey.

On July 27th the San Cárls sailed for San Francisco bay, beginning the voyage with a *novena* to their seraphic father, Saint Francis. Owing to contrary winds progress was slow and it was not until August 5th that they approached the entrance to the port. At eight in the morning of that day the launch was lowered, and Don José Cañizares, sailing master, with a crew of ten men, was sent in to make a reconnaissance and select an anchorage for the ship. At nine the tide was running out so strongly that the ship was driven to sea, but at eleven o'clock the tide turned and it drew near the coast, the captain approaching the entrance with caution, taking frequent soundings. At sunset the launch was seen coming from the port but the flood tide was too strong and she was forced back. Night was now coming on; an anchorage must be found and the San Cárls stood in through the unknown passage. Rock cliffs lined the narrow strait and the intrushing tide dashing against rock pinnacles bore the little ship onward. In mid-channel a sixty fathom line with a twenty pound lead failed to find bottom. Swiftly ran the tide and as day darkened into night the San Cárls sailed through the uncharted narrows, passed its inner portal, and opened the Golden Gate to the commerce of the world. Skirting the northern shore, the first ship cast anchor in the waters of San Francisco bay at half past ten o'clock on the night of August 5, 1775, in twenty-two fathoms, off what is now Sausalito.⁶

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1770-1775**

for eight days, to continue the survey into San Pablo and Suisun bays. Cañizares returned on the twenty-first and the launch was sent with fresh men under the second mate, Juan Bautista Aguirre, to look for a party Rivera had promised to send by land from Monterey, and, if he failed to find them, to explore the southeastern portion of the bay. Aguirre did not find the Monterey expedition for the good reason that Rivera had sent none, and when sent again on the thirty-first, with the *cayuco*, he found neither the Monterey expedition nor that of Colonel Anza, for which Ayala was looking.* Meanwhile on the twenty-third fifteen Indians came off to the ship on two of their tule rafts or canoes and were taken on board, entertained and given food. On the twenty-eighth Cañizares resumed his exploration of San Pablo and Suisun bays and returned September 1st. The next few days he spent in surveying the southerly part of San Francisco bay and in making his report to the commander. His descriptions of the bay are excellent and the soundings shown on his map compare with those of the Coast Survey, allowing for the shallowing of the last sixty years. San Pablo bay he calls Bahia Redonda, though he says it is not round but in the shape of an isosceles triangle. This appears on his map as Bahia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. He visited an Indian ranchería at the entrance to Carquines strait and found the natives polite and modest,

* Anza did not start from Tubac until October 23d.

not disposed to beg although they accepted some presents of beads and old clothes, and responded by giving the Spaniards some excellent fish, pinole, and seeds. These Indians had rafts or canoes made of tule and so well constructed and woven that they won the admiration of the sailing-master. Four men in them with double bladed oars could make greater speed than the launch. Passing through Carquines strait, to which he gives no name, Cañizares describes Southampton bay which he calls Puerto de la Asumpta, having examined it August 15th, the festival day of the Assumption of the Virgin. Suisun bay is described as a large port into which some rivers come and take the saltiness from the water which there becomes sweet as in a lake.* One river coming from the east-northeast (east—the San Joaquin) is about two hundred and fifty varas wide; the other, which has many branches, comes from the northeast through tulares and swamps, in very low land, and there are but two fathoms of water in their channels and sand bars with but half a fathom at their mouths.

Cañizares also mentions another island, to which no name is given, about two leagues to the south-east of Angel island. This is Yerba Buena. The tide flats of the Alameda coast with poles driven into the mud for the fishing stations of the Indians; the Presidio anchorage, Yerba Buena cove, Mission bay and Islais creek are all described, as well as

* Font's "Puerto Dulce."

the hills and groves of oak and redwood. A ranchería on the Alameda shore, seemed to be a good place for a mission, though he only viewed the site from a distance.

To Point Lobos was given the name Punta del Angel de la Garda. Fort Point was called Punta de San José. Lime Point was Punta de San Carlos, and Point Benito, Punta de Santiago. Point San Pedro was called Punta de Langosta (Locust Point), Point Richmond, Punta de San Antonio, and Point Avisadero, Punta de Concha. Mission bay was named Ensenada de los Llorones (The Weepers) because, it is said, the sailors saw some Indians weeping on the beach. Islais creek was called Estero Seco; the cove between Tiburon and Belvidere was Ensenada del Santo Evangelio; Mare island, Isla Plana, and Suisun bay Junta de los Quatro Evangelistas—The meeting of the four Evangelists. Of all the names given by Ayala there only remain to us Angel and Alcatraz islands. Point San José transferred its name to the next point east, while the point to which it was originally given became known as the Punta del Cantil Blanco, the name given it by Anza, and is now called Fort Point.

On the 7th of September Ayala had completed his survey and at eight in the morning he weighed anchor and leaving the shelter of Hospital Cove sailed for Monterey, but the wind failing, the current swept him on to a rock near Point Cavallo, injuring his rudder and compelling him to put into Horseshoe

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bay for repairs. While thus detained he employed the time in examining the entrance to the bay. He sailed on the eighteenth and arrived at Monterey the next day. He had spent forty-four days in the bay of San Francisco.

Meanwhile Don Bruno de Heceta had returned to Monterey from his northern trip August 29th and learning that the land expedition for San Francisco promised by Rivera had not been sent, organized a party to go to the assistance of Ayala and help in the survey of the port. On the 14th of September he set out, with a guard of nine soldiers and accompanied by Fathers Palou and Campa, three sailors, and a carpenter, and carrying on a mule, a small canoe. They followed the route taken by Rivera in 1774, and on the twenty-second arrived at the beach below the Cliff House rocks where they found the wreck of Ayala's *cayuco* cast ashore. At the foot of the cross erected on the hill at Point Lobos by Rivera in 1774, they found letters from Padre Santa María directing them to go a league inland and light a fire on the beach to attract the notice of the San Carlos anchored at Angel Island. When this was done and there was no answer to the signal, Heceta retraced his steps as far as Lake Merced where he encamped September 24th, the day of Our Lady of Mercy, and gave to the lake the name it bears to-day: La Laguna de la Merced. Concluding that the San Carlos had finished her survey, Heceta left for Monterey where he arrived October 1st.

CHAPTER III.

EL CAMINO DEL DIABLO*
1774

WHILE Don José de Galvez was organizing the expedition for the conquest of California, there was in the far-off frontier presidio of Tubac, a gallant soldier, Juan Bautista de Anza, by name, who manifested the liveliest interest in the undertaking. He petitioned the visitador-general for permission to make a journey overland from Sonora by way of the Rios Gila and Colorado to meet the expedition of Portolá at Monterey bay. He proposed to pay the entire cost of the journey and only asked to be allowed to take with him twenty soldiers whom he himself should name. It was represented that with the reduction of California a road of communication could be opened between Sonora and the new foundations by which the latter could be succored more surely and quickly than by the uncertain sea voyage. Anza's request was refused. The visitador-general did not consider such an expedition necessary at that time and the opening of such a road was believed to be extremely difficult, if not impossible. Not only were the two great rivers, the Gila and the Colorado, to be crossed, but between them and Sonora lay vast, inhospitable deserts.†

The expedition led into California by Portolá founded the presidios of Monterey and San Diego, and under their protection, the missions San Diego,

* Chapters iii, iv, v and vi, were originally published in the *Journal of American History*, Vol. II, No. 1 to Vol. III, No. 3.

† Palou: *Noticias*, iii, 154.

Monterey, San Antonio, San Gabriel, and San Luis Obispo. The life of the new establishments was precarious in the extreme. All supplies were brought in by sea from La Paz or San Blas, and the ships were sometimes many months on the voyage. The only ships the government had at that time on the western coasts of New Spain were a few small, poorly constructed, ill found boats built at San Blas for carrying dispatches and supplies to the missions. In addition to the ordinary perils of the sea, dread scurvy, that decimator of early navigators, made the arrivals irregular and uncertain and the unfortunate colonists were in constant danger of starvation.

Anza now renewed his request for permission to take an expedition overland to Monterey, alleging that by the road he would open supplies could be taken to the new colony in less time and with much more certainty than by sea. Again he offered to conduct an expedition at his own expense. The difficulty of maintaining the new foundations caused the viceroy, Don Antonio Bucaréli y Ursúa, to lay the matter before the king, and while awaiting his reply he consulted the president of the California missions, Fray Junípero Serra, to ascertain his views. Fray Junípero gave enthusiastic support to the application and suggested a similar expedition from Santa Fé, in New Mexico. The reply of the king not only approved Captain Anza's proposal but directed the viceroy to provide him from the royal

treasury with all that was necessary to make his expedition a success. Anza's preparations were soon made and on the 8th of January 1774, he set out from Tubac on his long and hazardous journey. The expedition consisted of the comandante with an escort of twenty soldiers, Fray Juan Diaz and Fray Francisco Garcés, of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétero, the necessary guides and muleteers, thirty-four persons in all, one hundred and forty saddle and pack animals, and sixty-five head of beef cattle. Just as Anza was starting a war party of Apaches descended upon him, killed some of his escort and ran off a large number of his horses. Not having sufficient stock to replace these he was obliged to make a detour of about one hundred and twenty-five miles southwest to the Piman pueblos of the Altar river to get pack and saddle animals. Starting January 8th he was on the 9th at Aribac (Arivaca) where, he says, the gold and silver mines were worked up to the year 1767, when they were abandoned because of the Apaches. On the 13th he was at Saric, on the Altar river, a place of great fertility of soil but one most harried by Apaches. He notes that the distance from Saric to Arizona or Las Bolas is seven or eight leagues to the north-east.' On the 17th he was at the presidio of Altar and on the 20th reached the mission of La Purisima Concepcion del Caborca. The only animals he could obtain, however, were a few worn out mules, and with this insufficient equipment he left the mission of

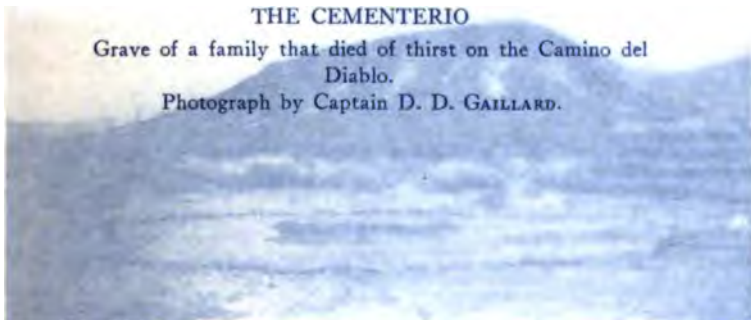
Caborca, January 22d, crossed the Rio del Altar, and struck across the forbidding Papaguería,* a wide and desolate desert reaching from the Rio del Altar to the junction of the Rios Gila and Colorado. In five days of travel, moving as rapidly as he could push his decrepit outfit he reached the ruined mission of Sonoitac on what is now the boundary line between Arizona and Sonora. For the next two days the route was easy through the dry arroyo of the Sonoyta river, which is described by Dr. W. J. McGee as a channel broad enough for the Ohio and deep enough for the Schuylkill but dust-dry from bank to bank. A march of twenty-three miles brought the expedition to the sink of the Sonoyta and here the brief existence of the river is ended. This is ancient Carrizal of Father Kino and may be seen on his map (1702) and on that of Venegas (1757). From here on to the junction of the Gila and Colorado, distant one hundred and twenty miles, the country contains not one permanent inhabitant and but two known watering places. The trail is well known and has long been traveled. It is the dreaded Camino del Diablo, whose terrible length is lined with the graves of its victims. Over this dreadful road came, in 1540, Captain Melchior Diaz of Coronado's army to die amid the sandy wastes of the Colorado. Later it formed the highway of that untiring traveler and missionary Eusibio Francisco Kino.⁸ During the gold excitement in

* *Papaguería*, The land of the Papagos.

THE CEMENTERIO

Grave of a family that died of thirst on the Camino del
Diablo.

Photograph by Captain D. D. GAILLARD.



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THE CEMENTERIO

Grave of a family that died of thirst on the Camino del

Diablo

Photograph by Captain D. D. GALLIARD.

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California this trail was used to a limited extent by Americans who braved the terrors of the desert rather than risk encountering the hostile Apaches by a more northerly route. So great was the mortality, however, among the travelers that the route was soon abandoned. It is said that during a period of eight years four hundred travelers perished of thirst between Altar and Yuma.

From Carrizal the trail stretches across the Tule desert with the nearest water forty-five miles distant and but a scanty supply then. Dividing his expedition into two parts Anza marched with the first division at noon of January 30th, leaving the second division, which consisted of the pack trains, under charge of a corporal and seven soldiers, to follow later. He made about sixteen miles and encamped for the night in what he calls a *bajío* (flat place) without either water or pasture. This *bajío* was a low lying place in the Tule desert called Las Playas. It is bordered by a fringe of mesquite and greasewood and in certain seasons a little water may be found there. Resuming his march at seven thirty o'clock the next morning an hour's travel brought him to the *mal pais*, a vast, sloping sheet of black lava reaching from the Sierra Pinto on the north to the Sierra Pinecate on the south, and which, Anza says, grew neither grass nor tree, small shrub nor larger one. Passing the lava beds, the division reached the Tule mountains and the Tinajas del Cerro de la Cabeza Prieta—The Tanks of the

Blackhead Butte—having traveled about sixteen miles. Anza gave to the tinajas the name of La Empinada—the Elevated. It is the Agua Escondida—Hidden water—of Father Kino or his Agua de la Luna; it is situated in longitude one hundred and thirteen degrees, forty-five minutes, about five miles north of the boundary line and consists of several tanks high up a rocky cañon, reached only after a hard climb. These tanks hold, when filled by the rains, about five thousand gallons.*

Anza found but a scanty supply of water in La Empinada, and leaving it for his pack-train pushed on eight miles into the Lechuguilla desert,† and camped for the night without water and with little pasture for the animals. Resuming his march at eight o'clock in the morning after the second night without water, Anza remarks that the ground they passed over gave forth a hollow sound under the tramping of the horses as if there were dungeons beneath the road.‡ A march of twelve miles brought

* A tinaja or tank is a pocket in the rock where water may be found after local storms.

† This desert lies between the Tule mountains and the Gila range. It takes its name from a plant of the Agave family called Lechuguilla—Little Lettuce. Costansó writing of the Indians of San Diego, says: "They wear no clothing save a girdle, woven like a very fine net with a fiber which they obtain from a plant called *lechuguilla*. Anza notes the Indians of San Jacinto mountains wearing this girdle, also a headdress of the same. The illustrations in Venega's *Noticias* show the Indian women of Lower California wearing the netting in that manner.

‡ Captain Gaillard of the Boundary Commission informs me that he noticed the same peculiarity in that locality caused by the horizontal stratifications and separation of the underlying layers of rock.

the division to Las Tinajas Altas—the High Tanks. Here was water in plenty and pasture nearby. These tinajas have been known since the time of the earliest Christian explorers and were probably known to the Papagos centuries before.* They are set in the side of a natural semi-circular area on the east side of the Gila mountains, about three and a half miles north of the boundary line, and consist of a number of tanks worn in the solid rock by the waters of a narrow rocky valley several hundred feet above, which during the rains come tumbling through the narrow gorge and fill the tanks. There are seven large tanks and a number of small ones; but with exception of the lowest tank, which can be approached by animals, they are very difficult of access. They range one above another and can only be reached by climbing several hundred feet up the steep side of a ravine. The water, surrounded and protected by overhanging walls, is deliciously cool and palatable. The tanks will hold from fifteen to twenty thousand gallons.⁹

Anza remained here until the morning of the third day to rest his command and let his pack-train come up, the mules being in bad condition and barely able to travel. In honor of the day, which was the Feast of the Purification of St. Mary, Anza named the aguage La Purificacion.

* Prof. Herbert E. Bolton identifies La Tinaja of Father Kino with a tank east of the Gila range, about fifteen miles south of the Gila river.

He resumed his march February 4th, and crossed the Gila range by the Tinaja pass. His next day's march was thirteen miles and he stopped at some wells named by him Los Pozos de en Médio—the Half-way Wells. The next day he followed the same general direction, north-northwest, keeping close to the base of the Gila mountains to avoid a range of high and almost impassable sand-hills extending in a northwesterly direction from below the boundary line, in longitude one hundred and fourteen degrees, twenty minutes, to the Gila river. A march of eighteen and a half miles brought him to his next watering place, a spring off the road—perhaps in the Telegraph pass of the Gila mountains. Neither this well nor that of the preceding camp is known to-day. Anza says from its being out of the road they inferred it was the one named by the Jesuit fathers La Agua Escondida—the Hidden water. The Agua Escondida shown on Father Kino's map is east of the Gila range.

At this last camp he found a Papago Indian awaiting him with a message from Palma, chief of the Yumas. Anza had met Palma at the presidio of Altar just before starting to cross the Papaguería and had notified him that he would pass through his territory. The Yuma chief now sent to warn Anza of an intention among the Indians of the river to murder him and his company and seize his outfit. Palma, the messenger said, had vainly endeavored to dissuade the Indians from attempting such an

act which, as he told them, would bring down upon the tribe the vengeance of the Spaniards.¹⁰ They were, however, bent upon mischief and he advised Anza to be on his guard and approach the junction of the rivers with caution. Anza did not consider the matter serious, but sent the Papago to ask Palma to meet the expedition, that they might confer in regard to the conspiracy, and at two o'clock the following afternoon resumed his march for the rivers, distant twelve leagues* (31.2 miles). He made about one-half of this distance and halted for the night where there was some feed for the animals, but no water. Starting at sunrise the next morning he met his messenger returning with an under-chief of the Yumas, Palma being absent. This under-chief was unarmed and was accompanied by eight warriors armed with bows and arrows, and all, like himself, entirely naked. In his hand he carried a lighted brand with which, Anza tells us, he warmed himself by applying it to the stomach or hindquarters.†

The chief informed Anza that Palma had taken vigorous measures for the protection of the Spaniards by expelling from his jurisdiction those who were trying to make trouble, and all was now quiet and peaceful; that Palma had been sent for and would soon meet him with a hearty welcome. Resuming

* The league was 5000 varas—2.604 miles. A vara is 33 inches.

† Melchior Diaz, who reached the Colorado river in the fall of 1540, named it the Rio del Tizon—River of the Firebrand—because of this custom.

his march Anza reached the Rio Gila at three in the afternoon accompanied by two hundred Yuma braves who had come out to meet him and who escorted him with shouts and laughter and other demonstrations of joy. At five o'clock Palma arrived with a body of sixty Indians and the white and red chieftains embraced each other with affection before the company. Captain Anza entertained his visitors with some refreshments while at Palma's request he permitted the Indians, most of whom had never before seen a white man, to examine the dress and equipment of the men. Palma, noting the posted guards with swords drawn and horses ready, asked why this was done and said the men should betake themselves to rest and liberty, relying on the friendship of the Yumas. Anza informed him that soldiers were ever on guard; that even in the presidio the men were on guard as if in the face of the enemy.

After bestowing a decoration on the chief, Anza, in the name of the king confirmed him in his command of the Yumas, giving him a brief account of the authority of the king who, in his turn, was responsible to God the ruler of all. After this Palma took Anza's staff and made a long harangue to his people, explaining the nature of the honor done him and of his responsibility to the king, and then ordered them to their huts for the night. In the morning a short journey down the river brought them to the ford of the Gila and the house of Palma

where, in the presence of six hundred of his people, the chief received and entertained the white men with generous hospitality.

The first stage of the long journey is completed. In one month Anza has traveled one hundred and thirty-eight leagues (three hundred and fifty-nine miles) of desert, with a worn and decrepit outfit. So far he has braved the known danger, traveled the known trail. He is now to face the unknown. Desolate as was the land through which he has come, he has now to encounter deserts as dreadful, fierce savages warring against each other and hostile to the invader, and without guides, wander amid sandy wastes in search of water.

CHAPTER IV.

**THE PASSAGE OF THE
COLORADO DESERT
1774**

ANZA reached the junction of the Rios Gila and Colorado, February 7, 1774. Giving up the following day to rest and to the enjoyment of the hospitality of the Yumas, he began the second stage of his journey February 9th, by the passage of the Rio Colorado, the first crossing into Alta California by white men. The river had been crossed by Melchior Diaz in 1540, Father Kino in 1701, and by Father Garcés, one of the two priests now with Anza, in 1771, but all these had crossed into Lower California. Palma guided the expedition to a ford where, with the assistance of the Indians, they made a safe passage. In celebration of this event, and of its being accomplished for the first time by the king's arms, the comandante fired a salvo and set off some rockets which pleased the Indians very much by their flight through the air, though the sound of the guns frightened them so that they threw themselves on the ground. Anza crossed the river above its junction with the Gila, and notes in his diary that it is the season of the greatest drouth and he found it only three and a half feet deep and five hundred and seventy feet wide. He gives an excellent description of the river and its surroundings, the San Dionisio of Father Kino, a Yuma *ranchería*,* now the town of Yuma, Arizona; the Purple hills ten miles to the north-northwest, through whose gorges the Colorado emerges into the open valley;

* *Ranchería*—an Indian village or town.

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the large peak to the northwest, which he named ~~Cabeza~~ *del Gigante*—Giant's Head—now called *Castle Dome*; a lesser peak fifteen miles to the north which, on account of its shape, he named *La Campana*—The Bell—now called Chimney Peak. He also notes that below the junction of the Gila and Colorado the united river is constrained to a narrow strait about 100 varas (275 feet) wide between bluffs of moderate height. To this he gave the name of *Puerto de la Concepcion*. Here was established in 1780, on the bluffs of the California side, the mission of *La Purisima Concepcion*, the site of the present Fort Yuma.

Having safely transferred his baggage across the river Anza camped for the night, being much troubled by the multitude of naked Indians in the camp. He presented them with an ox, and trinkets and tobacco, hoping to get rid of them, but they remained to sleep with their new friends. Anza describes the Yumas as tall and robust, lighter in color than the Pimas, with faces which, though naturally good, they had disfigured with paint. Their ears were bored with from three to five holes in each of which they wore a ring. They also pierced the cartilage of the nose and through it passed a bunch of feathers or a stick a *palm* (eight and a half inches) in length, and as thick as a large quill. They went naked for they considered it womanly to be covered. They dressed their hair with clay and over it threw a powder that had a luster like silver, sleeping seated

so as not to disturb this headdress. Their arms were bows and arrows of poor quality, staves four varas (eleven feet) long, and clubs. The women were large like the men, and Anza observes that their faces were about as he has seen other Indian women; he saw none that were horribly ugly nor did he see any specially handsome. Their dress consisted of a sort of petticoat down to the knee divided into two parts, that in front being the shorter.

Anza estimated the Yuma nation as numbering thirty-five hundred souls. Their lands were rich bottom lands capable of high cultivation. Indeed he saw wheat growing without irrigation so good that the best lands in Sonora could not equal it, and he was astonished at the abundance of maize, beans, calabashes, and melons they grew. He also notes that dams could be made and the water carried for a long distance for irrigation. All these descriptions are interesting in view of the reclamation work being done at this point by the United States Government and by private corporations.

On the following morning, February 10th, Anza resumed his march taking his way down the Colorado, which here flows almost due west, accompanied by about six hundred Yumas who, with somewhat troublesome kindness, insisted on driving the horses, pack mules, and cattle, each beast being surrounded by five or six Indians. The march was a weary one, for the road, though mostly level, was but a twisting-corkscrew of a trail through a chaparral of mesquite

and other brush that filled the river bottom and made it difficult for the animals. After four leagues of travel the expedition reached Pilot Knob, to which Anza gave the name of Cerro de San Pablo. Here the river takes a turn to the south, and traveling another league further the expedition halted for the night at the *Ranchería de San Pablo*, a Yuman village on the river-bank. This was the site of the second Colorado mission, *San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer*, established in the fall of 1780, and destroyed, together with its sister mission *La Purísima Concepcion*, on July 17, 1781, by this same Palma and his Indians. The next day's march carried them six leagues further down the river in a southwesterly direction to a lake in the flood plain of the river which the commander called *Laguna de las Cojas*. Here the jurisdiction of the Yumas ended and that of the Cojat nation began. I find no record of any tribe of that name, but Anza's description fits that of the *Cajuénche*, a tribe inhabiting the lower Colorado below Yuma. The next day's travel of four and a half leagues to the south and west and away from the river, brought the command to a large laguna, two and a half miles in length, but narrow, some five and a half feet in depth, and well stocked with fish. This lake, to which Anza gave the name of *Laguna de Santa Olalla*, was left from the overflow of the river. It was probably located on the *Rio Padrones*, about twelve miles south of the boundary line and eight miles west of the river.

Anza had now reached the end of the known land. The Cajuenches, or, as he calls them, the Cojats, received him with the same friendly welcome given by their relatives, the Yumas, but their jurisdiction was confined to the flood plain of the river, and to the west ranged the fierce Comeya, into whose territory no Cajuenche or Yuma would venture. The expedition must cross the Colorado desert without guides and find the water-holes as best it could.

Among Anza's train was a Christian Indian, Sebastian Tarabel, by name, a native of the mission of Santa Gertrudes in Lower California. He was one of five Indians of that mission who had accompanied Portolá on his march to Monterey in 1769. Sebastian had found the country so well suited to his taste that he had brought his wife from Lower California and settled at the mission of San Gabriel. Becoming tired of life at the mission he had run away, taking with him his wife and his brother, and had struck out across the San Jacinto mountains and the Colorado desert for the pueblos of the Yumas. Lost amid the sand-hills of the desert, his wife and his brother perished, but he, rescued by the Yumas, had been taken by Palma to the presidio of Altar, where he joined the expedition of Anza as guide. These sand-hills of the Colorado desert reach from a point about thirty-five miles north of the boundary line to some ten or twelve miles below it, the tract varying in width from ten to thirty miles. They are greatly dreaded, because

their similarity of appearance is most bewildering and the constantly shifting sand quickly obliterates any trail made through them. It was to avoid these that the detour to the southwest into Lower California was made.

The Indian, Sebastian, was of no help to Anza in his present need. Palma had accompanied them to Santa Olalla, but here he left them, saying he could go no further, for the expedition would now pass into the land of his enemies. He said that by the time Anza returned the Colorado would be in flood but he would be prepared with rafts and would take the Spaniards over in safety. With tears in his eyes he said good-bye (*á Dios*) to his friend, and the expedition plunged into the unknown desert.

Anza had induced some Cajuenches to go with him the first day's journey, and traveling seven leagues to the west-northwest, the Indians guided the party to an arroyo containing some thick and brackish water and a little *carrizo* (reed grass) which Anza named Los Pozos del Carrizal. The arroyo was the Álamo river and the place was one now known as Gardner's Lagoon. Two of the Cajuenches remained in the camp, the rest returning to Santa Olalla. Resuming his march the next morning, February 14th, Anza was accompanied a short league by the two Cajuenches who then left him, saying they dared go no further, but that the expedition could safely reach the next watering place (*aguage*) near the sierra to the west. In the same

arroyo, near some carrizo, Anza dug for water and finding a little halted to rest the animals. These wells he called Los Pozos de en Médio (the Half-way Wells). The next morning he began his march in a westerly direction towards the sierra. After traveling a league he came to a pool of very brackish water, thence another league through sand-hills brought him to another pot hole containing very little water, but somewhat better than the last. Here the exhausted condition of the mules compelled him to leave half his baggage, and placing it in charge of a guard he pushed on. He was soon in the midst of thickly clustered sand-hills where the trail became entirely obliterated. Finding himself in a dangerous situation, Anza consulted the two priests and suggested that since the animals were too weak to carry through all the baggage, they return half of it and half of the troops to the ranchería of the Yumas, and with the other half, without encumbrance, make a rapid journey to Northern California. Father Diaz agreed to the plan but Garcés objected. He did not see the necessity for it and did not think it wise to divide the force. Realizing the danger Anza related to him the fate of previous expeditions in like circumstances, but Garcés remained of the same opinion and Anza, having a high opinion of Garcés' experience and skill as a traveler, resumed the march. For some time they held to the westerly course among the sand-hills and then came to one larger and higher, which neither the horses in their

weakened condition nor the laden mules could surmount. Forced to abandon the route to the sierra in the west, which appeared to be about five leagues distant,* Anza turned to the south towards another sierra nearer than the first, close to which, Garcés said, was a large ranchería called San Jacome, where he had been two years before. Anza notified the leader of the pack-train, which was following, of the change of direction and with the advance guard pushed on for San Jacome. The sun had set when they reached the sierra and having passed it they found neither tracks, paths, nor other indications of habitation. Some of the soldiers were now on foot, their horses having given out, and Anza halted while the priests with two soldiers went in search of the stopping-place (*paraje*). Returning unsuccessful late in the night, Garcés begged for another chance, and Anza giving him the only soldiers whose horses could carry them sent him on his quest.

Garcés returned without having found San Jacome and Anza resolved to go back to the last aguage, realizing that if water and pasture were not found the next day the expedition would be exposed to total loss.

All through the night he waited for the pack-train, horse-herd, and cattle to come up, and at daybreak began his return. At sunrise he met the train and at two in the afternoon, worn out with hunger and thirst, and having lost a large number of animals, they reached the well where they had left the bag-

* Probably Signal mountain; about forty miles away.

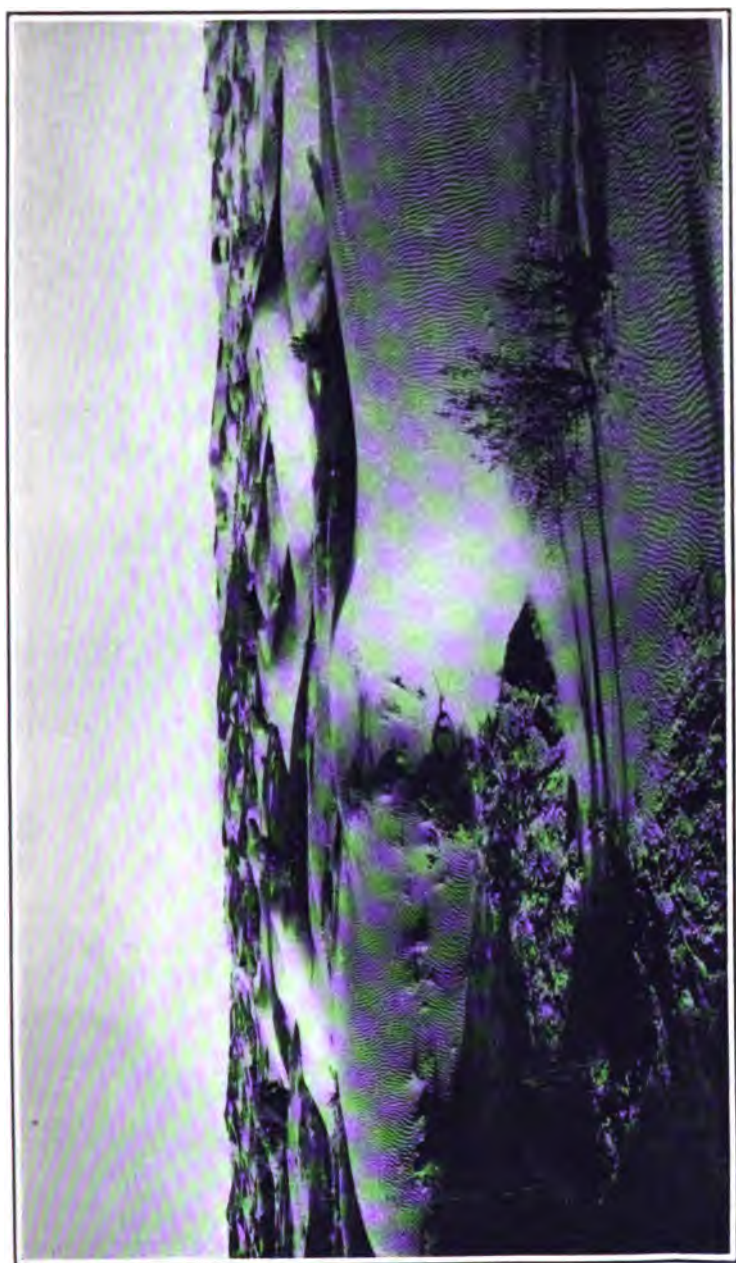
SAND-HILLS OF THE COLORADO DESERT

**Photograph by United States Geological Survey.
W. C. MENDENHALL.**

1895

SAND-HILLS OF THE COLORADO DESERT
Photograph by United States Geological Survey.
W. C. Mendenhall.

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gage. In memory of their sufferings and in the fear that this miscarriage would defeat the object of the expedition, Anza named the paraje La Poza de las Angustias—the Well of the Afflictions. Sending the cattle on to the Pozos de en Médio that they might find some carrizo to eat, Anza rested until noon of the following day. He realized how hopeless was the attempt to cross the desert with his animals in such condition and he determined to return to the river, give his men and animals a rest, entrust his baggage and useless animals to the care of Palma, and with his escort mounted on the strongest horses and taking only the most necessary supplies, make a dash for Monterey. With this intent and without consultation with the padres, Anza began his retreat.

Leaving the Poza de las Angustias after midday of February 17th, Anza took the trail to the Pozos de en Médio, the pack-mules carrying half loads. Most of the soldiers were now on foot but to the comandante's words of encouragement they responded that if all the horses failed they would make the whole journey on foot, could the object of the expedition be thus attained. Anza commended their faithfulness and promised to remember and reward them as far as was in his power for their concern for the king's service.*

* On October 1, 1786, Don Pedro Fages, governor of California, ordered that Juan Ignacio Valencia, a soldier of Anza's first expedition, be paid one *escudo* (about \$2.00) per month additional pay from October 8, 1774, to June 10, 1788, for his services on that trip. (*Spanish Archives of California, Provincial State Papers MSS. VIII, 142*).

On the morning of the nineteenth Anza reached the Laguna de Santa Olalla and the half laden pack-train arrived at eleven o'clock on the night of the twentieth, but it was not until the twenty-third that he got in all his baggage. He was received by Palma as one returned from the dead. The Yuma chief made known his grief at the hardships of his friend and the loss of his *caballerías*.^{*} Garcés volunteered to visit the rancherías of the lower Colorado in hopes of obtaining some information regarding the route across the desert, and to this the comandante agreed, charging him to return within four or five days. Anza then proceeded to explore the mind of Palma to ascertain if he were worthy of confidence, and satisfied on this point, he communicated to the chief his intention of leaving with him a portion of his baggage and animals, and some of his people, to await the return of the expedition from Monterey which, Anza said, would be in a little more than a month. To this Palma heartily agreed, promising to keep all in safety until Anza's return, and that the mules might succeed in reaching the ranchería he offered to transport the baggage on the shoulders of his people. This, however, Anza would not permit. Having completed the arrangement with Palma, Anza communicated it to the individuals of the expedition, and with one voice they approved of the plan. The soldiers

^{*} *Caballería*, riding beast. Anza uses the expression to mean both riding and pack-animals.

repeated the statement that they were eager to undertake the journey and again declared their willingness, should all the horses be lost, to march on foot so long as their strength lasted.

Several days passed in rest and recreation. The Yuma, Cajuenche, and Quiquima Indians thronged the camp and were much entertained by the music of a violin played by one of the soldiers. The women learned to dance in the Spanish fashion, and both sexes learned to salute the Spaniards with "Ave Maria"; "viva Dios y el Rey"; pronouncing the Spanish words with fluency.

On the first of March Garcés returned without having learned anything concerning the route they must take, and the next day the expedition again essayed the passage of the desert, leaving behind the greater part of the baggage, three soldiers, three muleteers, and one of Anza's servants, with the surplus cattle and caballerías. They now kept down the plain of the Colorado to avoid the sand-hills and shorten the journey across the desert to the sierra. For two days they continued down the river among the rancherías of the Cajuenches, and then, on March 4th, turned to the west-northwest towards the Cocopa mountains, guided by a Cajuenche Indian. After a journey of six or seven leagues the guide proposed that they camp for the night, assuring the commander that they would reach the aguage by noon the following day. To this proposition Anza assented with reluctance as there was in the place neither water

nor pasture. Starting at daybreak the next morning the march was continued in a direction varying between north and west to avoid the sand-hills, and after a journey of twelve and a half leagues (thirty-two and a half miles) they reached some pot holes containing a scanty supply of water and a little pasture. To these wells Anza gave the name San Eusebio. On the day's journey they came upon what appeared to be an arm of the sea (*brazo del mar*) which Anza thought must come from the Gulf of California, thirty leagues distant. He tasted the water and found it salty and he found stranded there a large quantity of fish of the kind that belong to the sea. The little water of the wells of San Eusebio was soon exhausted and one half of the beasts had none. To add to their misfortunes they discovered that the rascally guide had run off during the night leaving them to the peril of the desert without knowledge of the location of water. Suffering from thirst Anza sent a corporal and five men to search for the aguage, and at two in the afternoon moved the train over the track of the explorers. After three leagues of travel they met two of the soldiers who guided them to some springs in the hills where there was water but very little grass for the beasts. Anza named the wells Santo Tomás and here they remained the night of March 6th. I cannot locate this spring but it is in the Cocopa mountains about ten miles below the boundary line. On the seventh Anza again sent out the scouts, following on their trail in the after-

MUD VOLCANOES, COLORADO DESERT

Photograph by United States Geological Survey.

W. C. Mendenhall.

MUD VOLCANOES, COLORADO DESERT
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noon, and camped for the night where there was some pasturage for the animals but no water. They were, however, cheered by information the scouts obtained from some Indians of the certainty of reaching the long-looked for aguage early the next day. Starting at seven in the morning, a march of one and a quarter leagues brought them to the wells which on being opened distilled an abundant supply of most beautiful water. To these wells Anza gave the name of Pozos de Santa Rosa de las Lajas (the Wells of Santa Rosa of the Flat Rocks).^{*} Anza's native Californian and guide, Sebastian Tarabel, recognized in these wells one of the stopping places of his former journey, and they all rejoiced in the thought that now their expedition would not fail. This aguage, Anza says, was but eighteen leagues from Santa Olalla (it was twenty) and could have been made in two forced marches, though it had taken six days and thirty-five leagues of travel to reach it. At 2.30 in the afternoon Anza resumed his march and traveling almost due north made four leagues and camped for the night in the desert without water and with but little pasture for the animals. At daybreak the next morning they took their way again to the north across some dangerous sand-hills, with the men on foot leading their horses, and after traveling seven

^{*} These wells are now known as the Yuha springs and are located in the northwest corner of section eight, township seventeen south, range eleven east, San Bernardino base and meridian, four miles north of the boundary line. The water is about two feet below the surface of a dry wash.

leagues, arrived at one in the afternoon at a large *ciénega* or marsh—the sink of the San Felipe river—at the base of the San Jacinto mountains, the western wall of the desert. Anza gave to the aguage the name of San Sebastian del Peregrino. He had, in the face of great peril, without guides, and with much suffering, accomplished the passage of the Colorado desert.

CARRIZO CREEK, COLORADO DESERT
Photograph by United States Geological Survey.
W. C. MENDENHALL.

PLATE 1

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W. C. Mendenhall.
Photograph by United States Geological Survey.
CARRIZO CREEK, COLORADO DESERT.



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CHAPTER V.

EL CAMINO REAL

1774

ANZA found the water of the Cienega de San Sebastian* very alkaline and the grass so affected by it that the animals were made sick. At the cienega was a small ranchería of hill Indians (*Indios Serranos*), a most miserable, half-starved lot, ugly and entirely naked, living on mescal and seeds, with such game as they could kill with their bows and arrows. They also used the boomerang, throwing it with great dexterity and skill. These Indians have been identified with the Comeya who formerly occupied the country from the head of the Gulf of California to the Sierra Madre and from the Pacific to the lands of the Yumas. They were as fierce and treacherous as they were cowardly, and were the only Indians that Anza met on his long march whom he could not convert into friends. There was war between the Comeya and the Yuma, and two of the latter tribe whom Anza had brought with him notified the comandante that they and all who accompanied them would have their throats cut. Anza told the Comeya Indians that the war between them and the Yumas had ceased and that the tribes were now friends. This statement was apparently accepted and with the breaking of arrows the former enemies embraced

* The Cienega de San Sebastian is on the San Felipe river near where the Carrizo creek joins it, in Section 2, township 12 south, range 9 east. It is a little below sea level and the water, while abundant, is brackish.

It must not be inferred that a "river" in Southern California is necessarily a stream of water visible to the naked eye. Frequently the flow is underground, except in times of freshet.

and assured the comandante that their future excursions into each other's territory would be but pleasure trips.

Remaining at the cienega until three o'clock the next afternoon, March 11, 1774, Anza resumed his journey, and turning his back on the Colorado desert passed into the San Jacinto mountains by the broad dry cañada* of the San Felipe river. His animals were very weak from the purging caused by the alkaline grass and water of San Sebastian, and two of them died. He advanced only one and a half leagues, then halted for the night where there were some mesquite trees, whose leaves furnished scanty forage for the beasts. In this place were four or five families of Serranos who informed him that the sea was distant three days' journey to the west, and that some of their relatives near it had seen people like the Spaniards who lived at a distance of five or six days' journey. The sea, Anza inferred, was the Philippine Ocean, and the people were those who lived at the Puerto de San Diego.

Before daybreak the next morning the march was resumed up the gently ascending cañada of the San Felipe, in a west-northwest direction, and turning into the cañon† of Coyote creek they camped where there was running water of good quality and better grass than they had seen since they had left

* Cañada: a dale or glen between mountains: a valley.

† A cañon is a narrow valley with more or less precipitous sides, a defile or ravine.

the Pimería.* At this aguage they found some sixty Serranos who scattered at the approach of the Spaniards. Anza sent the native Californian after them to induce them to return. Tarabel succeeded in bringing them back, and Anza rewarded them with presents of trinkets and tobacco; but the pack-mules coming up and scenting the water, set up a terrific braying which put the Indians to precipitate flight. Anza named the aguage San Gregorio and remained in camp the next day to give his sick animals rest. The expedition resumed its march before dawn on March 13th, continuing up the cañon of Coyote creek and camping at the head of Borega valley. Here the Coyote, coming through a narrow cañon where its flow had been forced to the surface, again sinks to its underground channel. Anza notes the good grass and vines and trees which promised improvement further on. He named the aguage Santa Caterina.

Starting two hours before daybreak the next morning, they continued up the cañon, which now began to narrow and rise sharply. For four leagues they followed the cañon of the Coyote, then turning into Horse cañon a sharp climb of two leagues brought them to a *bajío* and the summit of the San Jacinto mountains, where they found good grass and water.

* Pimería: the country of the Pima Indians. It extends, roughly speaking, from the Sonora river to the Gila east of the one hundred and twelfth meridian. Anza left the Pimería and passed into the Papaguería when he crossed the Altar river at the mission of Caborca, January 22d.

Anza says: "This paraje is a pass and I named it El Puerto Real de San Cárlos (the Royal Pass of San Cárlos). From it may be discovered some very beautiful plains, green and flowery, and the sierra nevada with pines, oaks, and other trees proper to cold countries. In it the waters are divided, some running to the Gulf and others to the Philippine Ocean. Thus is it verified that the cordillera we are now in is connected with that of Baja California." This bajio is Vandeventer flat, at the base of Lookout mountain, and its altitude is about four thousand, seven hundred feet. I have been somewhat particular in tracing Anza's route across the Sierra Madre of California, of which the San Jacinto mountains form a part, because Bancroft, in his History of California, identifies the pass of San Cárlos with the San Gorgonio pass, the route followed by the Southern Pacific railroad, and all subsequent writers have accepted the statement and confirmed the error.¹¹

The Indians met on this day's march were of the same appearance and language as those of San Sebastian, but were more impudent in manner and speech. Their harangues were accompanied by movement of hands and feet so violent that Anza called them *Danzantes* (Dancers). They were great thieves and Anza says they could steal with their feet as dexterously as with their hands.

That night it rained and snowed, and it was not until the next afternoon that the expedition started,

taking its way over the divide between Vandeventer flat and Hemet valley, an elevation of four thousand nine hundred and eighty-five feet, and camped at a beautiful lake in Hemet valley which Anza named Laguna del Principe. In crossing the divide he says he found a fair vein of silver ore. The next three days he traveled down the Hemet valley, the San Jacinto river, camping on March 19th on the border of a large and beautiful lake, covered with white geese, which he named Laguna de San Antonio de Bucaréli. This was San Jacinto lake. He is enthusiastic in his description of the beautiful river, the trees, and the flowers. The river he named San José, and the San Jacinto valley he called La Valle Ameno de San José (The pleasant valley of San José). Into this pleasant valley comes the north fork of the San Jacinto river, a bounding, precipitous stream of such crystalline beauty that they named the gorge down which it runs La Cañada del Paraíso—the Vale of Paradise.

The next day they reached the Santa Ana river, so named by Portolá, July 28, 1769, but finding the river full were unable to cross. Passing down the river for half a league they looked in vain for a ford, and at four o'clock halted to make a bridge. This they finished at nightfall and rested for the night. Crossing the Santa Ana the next morning on the little bridge, the expedition traveled seven leagues in a west-northwest direction along the base of the Sierra Madre and camped for the night in a fertile

THE BEGINNINGS OF SAN FRANCISCO

valley thickly studded with poplars, willows, and alders, on the bank of a clear stream coming down from the sierra, which Anza named Arroyo de los Osos (Bear creek), having seen and chased several of those animals. The stream was San Antonio creek and the location of the camp was a little north and east of the site of the present town of Pomona. A march of eight leagues the next day brought them at sunset, March 22d, to the mission of San Gabriel where they were received by the padres with demonstrations of joy, the ringing of bells, and the singing of the *Te Deum*.

Tears of joy filled the eyes of those exiles from home as they looked upon these intrepid men and realized how near Sonora really was to them. As they heard the story of the expedition, wonder filled their hearts at the marvelous journey made by such a handful of men. Anza found the mission on very short rations, the priests and soldiers of the guard being allowed but three corn cakes per day which they eked out by wild herbs, each one seeking for himself; and of this scanty ration of corn they had but one month's supply. Nevertheless, the father superior of the mission offered to supply Anza with food until an expedition could be sent to San Diego, where, the father superior had been informed, a ship, the Nueva Galicia, had arrived. Giving his men two days' rest, Anza dispatched four soldiers with seven mules to San Diego, forty leagues distant, with a request to the captain of the ship and to the comandante of the

port for provisions and for horses to enable him to continue his march to Monterey.* The soldiers returned April 5th, bringing six fanegas† of maize, half damaged, one sack of dried meat, not edible, one sack of flour and two fanegas of beans which could not be taken because his troops did not carry pots in which to boil them. The horses asked for could not be supplied. As the provisions would last the expedition but sixteen days, Anza sent the two priests, with most of the soldiers, back to the Rio Colorado to await his return, and, with an escort of six soldiers, began the last lap of his journey, one hundred and twenty leagues, to Monterey.

Starting at nine o'clock in the morning of April 10th, he reached the Rio de la Porciúncula (Los Angeles river),‡ passed up the river into the San Fernando valley over the Santa Susana mountains, and camped on the Rio de Triunfo, a march of fourteen leagues. The next day's march of sixteen leagues brought him to the Rio de la Carpentería and the first ranchería of the Santa Barbara channel. This was the Rio de la Asuncion of Portolá and the site of the future mission of San Buenaventura. He

* On March 24th, Anza stood god-father to an Indian baby baptized by the padres, and gave him his name—Juan Bautista.

† Fanega: about 1.6 bushels.

‡ Portolá crossed the Los Angeles river on the 2d of August, 1769, the day of the Feast of Porciúncula and named it in honor of the day Rio de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula. It is to this incident the city of Los Angeles owes its name which is in full Nuestra Señora La Reina de los Angeles de Porciúncula—Our Lady the Queen of the Angels of Porciúncula.

also made sixteen leagues the next day along the Santa Barbara channel and stopped at the Rancherías de Mescaltitan. The next day's march was fifteen leagues to the Ranchería de los Pedernales. On the fourteenth he passed Point Concepcion and camped on the Rio de Santa Rosa (now the Santa Inez) near its mouth. He speaks well of the channel Indians, describes their houses, round, like the half of an orange, their well built boats in which they venture out to the channel islands on fishing expeditions, their tools of flint, their manufacture of baskets and dishes of stone. He thinks the estimate of 8,000 to 10,000 previously made of the channel Indians, too large. The country is beautiful and fertile and refreshing to eyes accustomed to the lands bordering on the Gulf of California where there is nothing seen of trees and herbs, while here the sea waves break upon shores as fertile as they are flowery.

A march of twelve leagues the next day brought Anza to the mission of San Luis Obispo, where his arrival gladdened the hearts of the missionaries. His route the next day was over the Cuesta pass of the Sierra de Santa Lucía into the Salinas valley, down the Salinas river to the Rio del Nacimiento where he camped after a march of thirteen leagues. The next morning he reached the mission of San Antonio and, pausing for a brief rest, pushed on into the Salinas valley* by the Arroyo Seco, named by

*The Salinas river was named by Portolá September 26, 1769, Rio de San Elizario. Later when the presidio of Monterey had been established the river came to be called Rio de Monterey.

Portolá, La Cañada del Palo Caído—the Valley of the Fallen Tree—and camped on the site where, in 1791, was established the mission of *Nuestro Señora de la Soledad*. The next day, April 18th, a march of thirteen leagues brought him to the presidio of Monterey. He was joyfully received by Don Pedro Fages, comandante of California, but found the garrison in a sad plight and much nearer to starvation than were the people of San Gabriel. All rejoiced in the success of his journey, for now that a road was opened to Sonora, they would no longer be dependent for supplies on the uncertain arrival of ships. The father superior and priests of the mission of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey, in the valley of the Cármelo, distant one league from the presidio, called on the successful explorer and extended their congratulations and bade him welcome. Anza returned the visit the following day, and on Friday, April 22, 1774, set out on his return trip, taking with him six of Fages' soldiers to show them the road to the Rios Gila and Colorado. On the sixth day's march while traveling along the Santa Barbara channel, he met the father president of the California mission, Fray Junípero Serra, who was returning from a visit to the city of Mexico, whence he had been to procure the recall of Fages. At Junípero's request, Anza spent with him the rest of the day and the night and gave him an account of his journey.

On reaching San Gabriel Anza sums up his observations concerning the people and the country of the new foundations. He confirms the reports of Captains Don Gaspar de Portolá and Don Miguel Costansó concerning the mildness and docility of the gentile nations and says that, were food abundant, the conversions to Christianity would be greatly increased; that the scarcity of food among many of the missions was due more to lack of seed than any sterility of soil; that the lands produce most abundantly wheat, barley, peas, beans, and other vegetables.

On May 3d he left San Gabriel for the Rio Colorado, returning by the same route he had come, save that in crossing the Colorado desert he avoided the long detour of his coming, and by a forced march of twenty-two leagues from San Sebastian, reached Santa Olalla on the morning of May 9th. On his journey eastward to the Laguna de San Antonio Bucaréli (San Jacinto lake) May 4th, he saw to the north of it, in the cordillera nevada, a good pass which he thought might be a direct route from Sonora to Monterey. He was looking into the opening of San Timoteo cañon and the San Gorgonio pass. After a rest of a few hours Anza continued his march up the valley of the Colorado and halted in the land of the Yumas who received him with extravagant demonstrations of joy, for they had heard reports that the expedition had been destroyed by the Seranos and Anza and all his men killed. The Yumas

informed Anza that on receipt of the report the soldiers he had left in care of Captain Palma had fled to the Rio del Altar in spite of the remonstrances of the Yuma chief.

The following day, May 10th, Anza reached the junction of the Colorado and Gila, where Palma met him with much affection and informed him that Padre Garcés was encamped on the other side of the river, and he, Palma, had delivered to him the cattle and provisions Anza had left in his care. By three o'clock in the afternoon Palma had a raft prepared and ferried the party over the river, which, Anza notes, was six hundred varas (sixteen hundred and fifty feet) wide. The passage of the river was safeguarded by five hundred Yumas swimming beside the raft. At five o'clock he reached the camp where he found Garcés and the troops he had sent back from San Gabriel. Sending the soldiers brought from Monterey back to their presidio, Anza resumed his march May 15th, after praising Palma for his fidelity and rewarding him by giving him his staff (baton), four oxen, and some articles of dress. He enjoined him to keep the peace with his neighbors and requested him to send to Altar any Spaniard who might come within his jurisdiction. He then took his way up the Rio Gila, past the pueblos of the Papagos, Cocomaricopas, and the Pimas Gileños, to all of whom he announced the cessation of wars warning them to keep the peace and report to the Spanish presidios any infraction of it. Leaving the river at the eastern

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proximity of the Gila Bend, he passed up the valley of the Santa Cruz river and arrived at the Pima Presidio of Tucson on May 25th. Here he found the Indians requesting him to hasten his return as there was danger of an Apache raid. Starting before dawn the next morning he made a forced march of about 10 leagues and arrived at sunrise of the second day, May 27th, at his own presidio of Tubac, and the completion of his journey, for the accomplishment of which he gave praise to the Lord of Armies.

Anza had conquered the desert and had overcome the natural barriers between a paternal government and its feeble establishments in distant California. He had realized his cherished dream and had opened the King's Highway. He had secured for Spain the friendship of the powerful tribes of the great river, a friendship without which, he says, the river could not be passed. He was now to establish a presidio and mission worthy of the serafic patron and father, Saint Francis, to found a city that, in the fullness of time, was to dominate the great ocean and take its place with the mighty ones of earth.

CHAPTER VI.

**THE FOUNDATION
OF SAN FRANCISCO
1775-1776**

THE fame of Anza's achievement spread throughout New Spain. He received the plaudits of his countrymen and was honored by his king. Promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he was authorized to raise and equip a company of thirty soldiers for the establishment of a strong presidio and mission on the bay of San Francisco. Of the company, ten were to be experienced men from the Sonora presidios and twenty were to be new recruits. All must be married men with families and at the end of their ten year enlistment were to be given land and turned into settlers. In addition to the soldiers and their families, there were to be a certain number of families of settlers (*pobladores*).

Anza raised the standard of the expedition at San Felipe de Sinaloa with the rendezvous at San Miguel de Horcasitas, then the residence of the governor of Sonora. His own presidio of Tubac was on the northern frontier and contained no white inhabitants save the garrison. By order of the king the royal treasury was thrown open, the colonists, men, women, and children were clothed from head to foot and from date of enlistment "ate with the king."* One hundred and forty pack mules were required to carry the provisions, war material, baggage, and other goods and presents for the Indians among whom they were going. There were one hundred and twenty

* *Noticias de la Nueva California*. Palou, iv, 133.

horses and twenty-five mules for the use of the troops, two hundred and twenty horses belonging to the expedition and three hundred and twenty head of beef cattle, altogether, eight hundred and twenty-five head of stock. Anza took the ensign, sergeant, and eight soldiers from his own presidio and enlisted twenty new men. All were married. The amount allowed for equipment and transportation of each family was eight hundred dollars; this in addition to pay. Besides the soldiers there were several families of pobladores. These also received pay, rations, etc. The chaplain of the expedition was Fray Pedro Font, and two priests, Fray Francisco Garcés and Fray Tomas Esaire, accompanied the expedition to the Rio Colorado where they were to remain to explore the country and catechise the natives until Anza's return. The commissary of the expedition, thirty muleteers, vaqueros, interpreters, and servants, an escort of ten soldiers from Anza's presidio, together with the families of the soldiers and settlers, made up in all a company of two hundred and forty souls, of whom one hundred and sixty were women and children. The number was increased by the birth of eight children on the road. By September 1775, the expedition was assembled ready to start for Tubac, and waiting for the arrival of the escort from that presidio, for the road from Horcasitas to Tubac, infested with the plague of Apaches, was the most dangerous part of the whole journey. As the escort was about to



A SOLDADO DE CUERA
Drawn by WALTER FRANCIS.

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for the use of the troops, horses belonging to the expedition and twenty head of mules. There were three hundred and twenty five men, including the captain, sergeant, and soldiers of the presidio and enlisted men. There were also married. The amount paid for the transportation of each man was one hundred dollars; this in addition to the pay there were several expenses. These also received pay. The chaplain of the expedition was Fray Francisco, and two priests, Fray Francisco and Fray Juan, accompanied them. There were also several soldiers who were not enlisted and catechized. The commissary was a doctor, vaqueros, interpreters, and ten soldiers for the families of the expedition. There was also a company of soldiers and in one hundred and twenty men. The number of men who were killed on the expedition was one hundred and twenty.



divine aid for the expedition; the Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe was named as patroness, with the Princes San Miguel and San Francisco de Asis as protectors, and at eleven o'clock the following morning, Monday, October 23, 1775, the journey began.

Of the personnel of this expedition, the interest centers mainly around the thirty soldiers* who were to remain in California and become the first settlers of San Francisco. Fifteen are classed as *Españoles*, seven as *Mulatos*, six as *Mestizos*, and two as *Indios*. They were good people, carefully selected, and they proved themselves good soldiers and excellent citizens. Anza makes a public record of their faithfulness and devotion to king and country.¹⁸

Owing to the lateness of the season and the great number of women and children, Anza would not attempt the passage of the Papaguería, but preferred the longer and safer route by way of the Santa Cruz river and the Gila. The first day's journey was four leagues to the north where the expedition camped at a place called Canoa. Here the wife of a soldier, taken with labor pains, gave birth to a boy and died at 3.45 in the morning. The body of the unfortunate woman was taken by Padre Garcés to his mission of San Xavier del Bac, thirteen leagues

* Soldados de cuera, so called because of a sleeveless coat worn by them made of six or seven thicknesses of dressed deer skins, impervious to Indian arrows except at very short range. The horse was also protected, in part, by a leathern apron, fastened to the pommel of the saddle and covering the breast of the horse and the legs and thighs of the rider. The arms were lance and shield, carbine, and broadsword.



north of Tubac, for burial. On October 26th they were at Tucson which Anza speaks of as an Indian pueblo, containing the most northerly of the converted Indians.²³ Five uneventful jornadas brought them to the Rio Gila where a rest of one day was taken and the comandante and his chaplain visited the famous Casa Grande, of which Font gives an excellent description. On November 1st, the expedition began its march down the river. The order of march, as given by Font, was as follows: Four soldiers went ahead as scouts, Anza led off with the van guard; after him came the priests and next the men, women, and children, escorted by soldiers; the ensign brought up the rear guard. Behind these followed the pack trains with the loose horses and beef cattle. As soon as the long column started, Font would strike up the Alabado,* to which all the people would respond. On making camp, when they had dismounted the ensign reported and received his orders. The soldiers made shelters with their cloaks and blankets and there were thirteen tents—nine for the soldiers' families, two for the priests, one for the ensign and a big circular one for the señor comandante.

As he passed through the Pima villages, Anza was joyfully received by the Indians and noted their irrigation ditches and the crops raised, and also, with satisfaction, that the peace established by him between the nations of the Gila and Colorado had

* A hymn of praise.

been kept. On November 3d he reached Maricopa Wells, the waters of which had such serious effect upon both his people and animals that he gave them the name of Las Lagunas de Hospital. So bad was the water that two of the women were taken violently ill and were thought to be dying. Anza administered such remedies as he had and brought water from the Gila, three leagues distant, for them to drink. Many of the caballerías became sick also and two horses died. Anza determined to move the expedition, though the women were still very ill, and the next journey must be a forced march across the Gila Bend, a desert, without water, and with but scanty feed for the animals. Starting at one o'clock in the afternoon of November 7th, he passed around the southern end of the Sierra de Estrella thence west-southwest towards the Sierra Maricopa and halted for the night before the Pass of the Cocomaricopas. Resuming the march in the morning he crossed the mountains by the above pass and at four in the afternoon reached the village of Opas, or Cocomaricopas, called by him in 1774 San Simon y Judas, having made the journey in fourteen hours of actual travel—very good time with his sick women and sick and dying horses. Bartlett* who crossed this desert in 1852, gives a graphic account of the passage. From now on to the jurisdiction of the Yumas, Anza traveled among the rancherías of the Cocomaricopas. He found them enjoying the fruits of the peace he

* John Russel Bartlett, U. S. Boundary Commissioner.

had established between them and the Yumas on one side and the Pimas on the other and they gave him repeated thanks for the great service he had done them, for they could now dwell on open ground and cultivate their lands. The expedition was detained for three days at San Simon y Judas by a very sick woman, and five other members were added to the sick list, including the chaplain, Father Font, who became very ill with a tertian ague.

Resuming the march November 11th they passed down the plain of the river among rich cultivated fields and on the fourteenth reached Agua Caliente* where a day's rest allowed opportunity for doing family washing. Here Anza was waited on by a large number of Maricopas—to give them their modern name—who desired him to appoint a chief to rule over them. Anza conferred on one of their number, selected by themselves, the title of governor, and appointed another alcalde, and admonished them to recognize the king as their master and to obey all the orders he or his ministers might give them. This they all agreed to do and Anza fixed the bounds of their jurisdiction. Before installing them he gave them the most precise instructions concerning their duties which, he says, so intimidated the governor that for more than an hour he trembled as if he had an ague.

The expedition resumed its march Thursday, November 16th, continuing down the plain of the

* Hot Water; named by Anza on his upward passage May 19, 1774.

river and passing from the jurisdiction of the Maricopas to that of the Yumas. The stops were usually made at or near some Indian rancheria which Anza had named in his upward passage in May of the previous year. Everywhere he notes improvement in the condition of the people and he cements the friendship established between them and the Spaniards by liberal presents from the stores furnished him for that purpose. With the exception of Agua Caliente, which shows on the map on the north bank of the Gila on the western border of Maricopa County, the names given by Anza in this region have disappeared.

From Agua Caliente the comandante sent forward four soldiers with a Yuma interpreter to announce his approach to Salvador Palma, captain of the Yumas, to select a place for crossing the Colorado river, and to look for a better route across the Colorado desert from Santa Olalla to San Sebastian. At a place named by him in 1774, San Pascual, the expedition was detained three days by the confinement of the wife of a soldier. The cold was excessive and in four days six horses died from it. On the twenty-second Anza resumed his march and on the twenty-seventh Captain Palma with an escort of thirty unarmed Indians met him four leagues above the confluence of the rivers. The Yuma chief embraced his friend joyfully and announced that his nation and all the tribes of the river joined him in the welcome to the expedition. Palma had advanced so far in civili-

THE TRAIL ON THE GILA
From BARTLETT's Narrative.

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zation as to enquire courteously after the health of his majesty, the king, and that of his excellency, the viceroy, saying that he was fortunate in having seen them when they were at the presidio of San Miguel* (Horcasitas) and happy in having heard them speak and that to have understood what they said he would willingly have taken off his ears and put on Spanish ones. He anxiously enquired if the missions he had asked for were soon to be established in his country, and said that to make himself worthy of such a blessing he had complied exactly with the order Anza had given him, and had not made war on any nation save the Serranos on the west and had only done that because the Serranos had attacked a Spanish mission in Alta California and killed some of its people.† He concluded by offering to the Spaniards all his lands in the name of his people, since all desired the Spaniards to come and settle among them and Christianize them, and he requested that Anza and all his expedition remain with him until the king was advised of his petition.¹⁴ In reply to this Anza said that he had no power to grant such a request, but as his majesty had sent him with troops and families to establish a presidio and two missions

* Palma had visited Horcasitas to ask the governor of Sonora to establish a mission on the Rio Colorado. The diarist does not state whom Palma took for the king and viceroy.

† This referred to the destruction of the mission of San Diego by the Dieguenos, who, as well as those Indians called by the diarist Serranos, belonged to the Comeya. Anza had evidence that the Serranos of the San Jacinto mountains participated in the sack of the mission.

in California he would undoubtedly in due time consider Palma's wishes. This satisfied the chief who said that on Anza's return, if three establishments (a presidio and two missions) had not been made in his country he would accompany Anza to the City of Mexico and make his demand on the viceroy. Anza replied that he would willingly take Palma to Mexico, provided it met with the approval of his people.

On the evening of this day Anza presented the chief with the baton of authority as captain of the Yumas, and also a dress the viceroy had sent him, consisting of a shirt, trousers, waistcoat yellow in front and trimmed with gold, blue coat laced, and black velvet cap adorned with false gems and a plume *a modo de Palma*. The chief was greatly pleased with these attentions, as were his followers, for the power and authority of Palma were greatly enhanced by the favor shown him by the Spaniards. The Yumas were very proud of the ability of their wives to say "Ave Maria" and other salutations taught them by the members of the former expedition, and were covered with shame at the recollection of the naked condition in which they had then presented themselves.

On the following day a march of four hours brought the expedition to the confluence of the Rios Gila and Colorado. Crossing the Gila by a good ford they reached the ranchería of Captain Palma—San Dionisio of Father Kino—where they were hospitably

entertained by the Yumas who brought them beans, calabashes, maize, and other grains in abundance, and very many water-melons. Here came the scouts sent out from Agua Caliente to find a better route across the Colorado desert, and reported that though they had spent six days in the survey they could find no other watering places (aguages), than those indicated in the route of the previous expedition; nor could they find any trails or footprints of men or beasts save those noted thereon. The Indians informed Anza that there was no ford to the Rio Colorado, and when he ordered a raft made said that it was impossible to cross in that manner owing to the coldness of the water, the Indians having to swim and guide the raft. He, however, persisted in making the raft, and at seven o'clock the next morning mounted his horse and accompanied by a courageous soldier and a Yuma went in search of a ford. He spent the forenoon in testing the river at various points, both he and his companions submerging themselves and their horses in the icy waters, and at one o'clock in the afternoon found a place where the river was divided into three branches and could be forded. Here he would attempt the passage and returning to the camp sent a party of axemen to open a road to the ford through the dense forest growth of the river bottom. At seven in the morning of November 30th the expedition moved up to the ford, about a quarter of a league above the camp. The pack-trains were brought up and the freight and

baggage were sent over in half loads. The women and children were placed on the tallest and strongest horses, each led by the head strap and each accompanied by ten men on the lower side for rescue in case of a fall. Thus the passage was made in safety with nothing more serious than a wetting, for the water was but little over four feet in the deepest part and about eight hundred and fifty feet wide. One reckless rider who was carrying a child was swept from his horse, but both were instantly rescued. Font, who was sick and dizzy, was held on his horse by a servant on either side, while a third led the animal. He got wet to the knees. Garcés was carried over on the shoulders of three Yumas, two by his head and one by his feet, stretched out stiff, face upward, like a corpse. By one o'clock in the afternoon the first settlers of San Francisco were on California soil.

Building a hut (barraca) on the bank of the river for the two priests who were to remain, Anza prepared to resume his journey when he was informed that two more of his people were added to the sick list and were so desperately ill that the sacrament of penitence had been administered to them. Hastening to their relief, he applied such remedies as he had, but it was not until the fourth day that he could again take up the march.

Settling the padres in their abode with an interpreter and three servants, one of whom was Sebastian Tarabel who had accompanied the first expedition,

Anza provided them with horses and four months' supply of provisions, and committing them to the care of Palma, began his march down the plain of the Colorado on the morning of December 4th. The route was a toilsome one, so overgrown with brush that in many places only a narrow trail could be found. It was so difficult to get the cattle through this chaparral that they remained more than a league behind. That night he camped at the Cerro de San Pablo (Pilot Knob) near the present boundary line. The cold was so great that two horses died and the sick list was increased to eleven. In the morning the march was resumed in a southerly direction with frequent detours to avoid the forest and the crooked branches of the river channel. After an advance of three leagues, camp was made at the Laguna de los Cojas. The sacrament of penitence was administered this night to one of the sick who was thought to be dying. The next day they reached the Laguna de Santa Olalla where they were to rest and prepare for the most difficult portion of their journey: the passage of the Colorado desert. The Indians of Santa Olalla received them hospitably and gave them great quantities of fish from the lake, and grains and fruits, including more than two thousand watermelons which they were obliged to leave behind. Mindful of the dangers of the previous journey, Anza divided the expedition into three parts, to start on different days that all might not arrive at the wells the same day. The first division was under

his own command; the second he placed in charge of Sergeant Grijalva, and the third was under command of Ensign Moraga. The beef herd he sent by a separate road in charge of vaqueros, for the cattle were so wild they could not be watered from buckets, but must go from the Pozos del Carrizal to San Sebastian, a distance of fifty miles, without water or pasture. The vaqueros, muleteers, and troopers were ordered to carry maize and grass for the animals. At 9.30 on the morning of December 9th, the first division began the march. It reached the Pozos del Carrizal at half-past two in the afternoon, and found the water abundant, though bad. Font, who was with the first division, called the aguage El Poso Salobre del Carrizal—the brackish well of the Carrizal—and denounced it as a dreadful stopping place, without pasture and with very bad water. The next day after giving the animals all the water they would take, they resumed the march and traveled about five leagues in a west-northwest direction, and camped for the night in a deep dry water-course where there was a little firewood, but neither water nor pasture. The camp was in the bed of the New river about a mile below the boundary line. The cold was intense. At three o'clock in the morning the caballerías were fed with grain, and at daybreak began a forced march of ten leagues in a westerly direction, reaching Los Pozos de Santa Rosa de las Lajas at night. Anza had sent men in advance with tools to open the wells, but he found them much be-

hind hand with the work. He set himself personally to the task, but so slowly did the water distill that it was ten o'clock before he was able to give water to any of the beasts. The night was cruelly cold; they had no fuel, and in the darkness none could be found. It was two o'clock in the morning before the last thirsty animal had relief, but not till the next forenoon was the herd satisfied. At 12.30 they resumed the march, laying their course in a northerly direction with a slight inclination to the west. A fierce cold wind from the north distressed them and impeded their progress. They made four leagues and camped at a place where there was a small quantity of firewood—very necessary on account of the cold. At daylight they saw the high mountains on their left covered with snow; the cold wind continued, causing much distress to the women and children, and to increase their discomfort it began to snow. At nine o'clock they took up the march, traveling in the same general direction for five and a half leagues, then due north one and a half leagues more, and arrived at 3.30 in the afternoon at the Cienega de San Sebastian. The weather had calmed somewhat and in the clearer atmosphere they saw the Sierra Madre, through which they must pass, so filled with snow that they marveled that so much could be gathered together. Anza caused the people to gather all the firewood possible; this was but little, while at five o'clock the cold wind began again with great force and continued throughout

the night. At daylight it began to snow, and Anza determined to wait in camp the arrival of the two divisions that were to follow. At twelve o'clock the cattle arrived, four days from Los Pozos del Carrizal without water, and with the loss of ten oxen. Though taken to the edge of the pool, most of them refused to drink the brackish water and began eating the alkali whitened grass. All day Anza waited the arrival of the second division. All day the bitter wind continued and the snow fell until plain and mountain were alike covered. At eleven o'clock in the night the snow ceased and a pitiless frost followed from which the people suffered greatly and six oxen and one mule died. The morning of the fifteenth dawned clear and cold, with the snow that had fallen the preceding night well hardened by the frost that followed. At 12.15 the second division under Sergeant Grijalva arrived, badly crippled by the storm which had caught them between the wells of Santa Rosa and San Sebastian. Many of the people were badly frost-bitten, one barely escaped death, and they had lost five caballerías from the cold. The frost continued severe and four more oxen died that night. The next morning Anza was informed that the Serranos had run off some of his caballerías during the night. The sergeant and four soldiers were dispatched in pursuit and instructed to recover the animals without harming the Indians unless the latter showed fight, but to warn them that a second offence would be severely punished. All

day long they waited for the third division. In the evening the sergeant returned with the stolen animals. He had found them in charge of the women in two different rancherías, the men having disappeared. At seven the next morning the commander sent soldiers with twenty horses to the relief of the distressed rear guard, and at 3.30 in the afternoon it came in. Upon them the storm had fallen with fury and the driving snow had stampeded most of their horses. Four horses had died from the cold, and the ensign with the greatest difficulty had saved the lives of his men. His exposure in caring for the people had brought on an earache so severe that it made him, for a time, totally deaf.¹⁵

Two more oxen died this day from the cold, but Anza notes a general improvement in the health of the command, and notwithstanding the exposure, his sick list is reduced from fifteen to five. He gives credit for this to the many water-melons the people ate at Santa Olalla.

On the following day, December 18, 1775, Anza prepared to resume his march and begin the passage of the cordillera. Three oxen died from cold and exhaustion in the morning, and five more, unable to move with the band were killed, and the beef dried and salted, though hardly eatable by reason of its smell, taste, and color. At 1:30 in the afternoon the expedition moved up the broad cañada of the San Felipe river and traveled three and a half leagues. The next day they made four leagues to San Gre-

gorio, in Coyote cañon, where the water in the wells was insufficient for the cattle and the cold was so intense that each day many of the cattle and caballerías, weakened by the hardships of the journey, died. The cold this night was so great that the people dared not sleep, and three caballerías and five oxen were frozen. At seven in the morning the commander was notified that many of the cattle, driven by thirst, had escaped from their keepers. Sending the sergeant with three soldiers and a vaquero to look for them he moved forward to the sink of the Santa Catarina (Coyote creek), the site of the camp of March 13, 1774. Here he proposed to give rest to his tired caballerías, which, he says, have, like the cattle, dried up and become so thin that they could not be recognized for the beasts that began the march. In this day's march the loss in cattle and horses was very heavy. In the afternoon of the second day the sergeant returned with a few of the cattle and reported a loss of fifty head, suffocated in the mud of the Cienega de San Sebastian. Anza was greatly distressed at this mishap which had cost him so dear, in spite of all his care. A few miserable Indians came into camp and were fed by the Spaniards. The morning of December 23d began with a rain storm, but the rain ceased at nine o'clock and the expedition resumed its march up the cañon of the Coyote. Two short jornadas brought them on the twenty-fourth to the ranchería of the Danzantes. They were halted here by the sickness of

one of the women, and ten o'clock that night she was happily delivered of a boy. Anza makes record that "she is the third who has done this thing between Tubac and this place. Besides these there have been two other births, that, with the other three that happened on the march to San Miguel de Horcasitas make a total of eight, all in the open air." Owing to this affair Christmas was passed quietly in camp but on the following morning, the sick woman having courage for the march, the command moved forward and after a hard climb of about five hours, passing through Horse cañon, arrived at two in the afternoon at the Royal Pass of San Cárls where a halt was necessary on account of the rain. Here they had a thunderstorm followed by an earthquake. Five leagues of travel the next day carried them to San Patricio, the beginning of San Jacinto river. From this point Anza sent three soldiers of his escort to the missions of California and to the comandante, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, advising them of the probable time of the arrival of the expedition, its condition, and the necessity of furnishing him with horses. He also expressly requested that on the arrival of the expedition at Monterey, the comandante be prepared to accompany him to the survey of the Rio de San Francisco as ordered by the viceroy.

From the summit of the cordillera the poor people looked with dismay upon range after range of mountains filled with snow. To the west, those towards

the South Sea,* as well as those extending into Baja California, all were so covered that only a few trees on their summits could be seen. Coming from a hot climate few of them had ever seen such a thing, and so terrible did the sight appear that some began to weep, saying that if here so many animals died from the cold and they themselves barely escaped the same fate, what would happen to them in the north where the snow would be so much more plentiful?† The commander comforted their hearts by telling them that as they approached the sea the cold would diminish and the journey would be easy and comfortable. The next day they were obliged to remain in camp for between the cold and the damp the invalid was much worse and was threatened with convulsions. Responding to the treatment given, the sick woman obtained relief during the day and night and on December 29th, the expedition moved forward and traveling six leagues down the cañada camped in the Valle Ameno de San José. The following day they marched down the spacious and beautiful valley and camped at the Laguna de San Antonio de Bucaréli. A long march of seven leagues the next day brought them to the Santa Ana river, which on inspection proved to be unfordable. Anza was obliged to build

* The Pacific Ocean was usually called the South Sea. Father Font's map has it "Mar del Sur."

† It is difficult for one who is not a Californian to realize how little the latitude has to do with the climate of California. On the coast the same temperature practically rules without regard to latitude, and in the interior, the northern citrus belt, six hundred miles north of Los Angeles, produces the earliest oranges

a bridge to get his people over, and it was twelve o'clock the following day before this was completed. The women and children were passed over first, and then the rest of the people and the baggage. The animals had to swim for it and one horse and one ox were swept away and drowned. By three o'clock the passage was completed and they camped for the night of January 1st, 1776, on the western bank of the river.¹⁶ The three soldiers Anza had sent to the mission of San Gabriel December 27th, now came to report, bringing eleven horses from the padres and a message from the corporal commanding the mission guard, to the effect that the Indians had risen against the mission of San Diego, killed one of the priests and two of the servants, wounded the soldiers and burned the mission buildings. The Indians, the corporal said, were gathering in the vicinity of San Gabriel and threatened an attack. He had sent word to the comandante, Captain Rivera, at Monterey, and was expecting that officer at San Gabriel.

In the morning Anza sent two soldiers forward to the mission to announce his approach and taking up his march advanced through a heavy rain storm, intermingled with snow, as far as the site of the present town of Pomona, camping on San Antonio creek. The next day they made five leagues through the heavy mud to the San Gabriel river, and the following morning at eleven o'clock of January 4, 1776, entered the mission of San Gabriel Arcangel,

seventy-three days from Tubac. Here Anza met Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, who had come the previous day. Rivera laid before Anza the particulars of the revolt at San Diego and requested the loan of his troops to suppress the rebellion and pacify the country. The entire military establishment of California at this time (without counting Anza's troops) consisted of Comandante Rivera, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two sergeants, eight corporals, fifty-four soldiers, one armorer, and one drummer, a total of seventy-one. This force was scattered over a coast line of four hundred and twenty miles, guarding two presidios and five missions.

Rivera had brought with him from Monterey a force of ten soldiers and with two more, taken from the San Gabriel *escorta*, proposed to put down an insurrection in which from eight hundred to one thousand savages were already engaged and which threatened to unite the entire Comeya in an effort to expel the Spaniards. This incident reminds one of the heroes of the Long Sault in Canada when seventeen devoted young Frenchmen checked the invasion of more than seven hundred Iroquois; only the comparison between the fierce Iroquois and the cowardly Dieguenos will hardly hold. Rivera told Anza that he doubted if the force he had with him was sufficient to inflict the necessary punishment upon the perpetrators of the outrage at San Diego and he had information that the Indians were uniting for a further attack upon the Spaniards.

Anza gave Rivera's request careful consideration and believing he would be justified in stopping to assist him, gave consent to the proposition and volunteered to serve under him in the expedition against the savages. His offer was accepted, and taking seventeen of his veteran troopers, joined to the twelve under Rivera, they set out, January 7th for San Diego, forty leagues distant, leaving the expedition at San Gabriel under command of Moraga, whose commission as lieutenant (*teniente*) was received here. We will not follow Anza on this march. Nothing was accomplished so far as punishment to the perpetrators of the outrage was concerned, and Anza, in disgust with the dilatory tactics of Rivera, resolved to proceed with his journey. He returned therefore to San Gabriel where he found that a soldier of the mission guard together with three muleteers and a servant of Sergeant Grijalva had, the night before he arrived, deserted and carried off twenty-five of the best horses of the expedition and of the mission, together with a lot of his stores. He at once dispatched Moraga with ten soldiers in pursuit of the deserters, and after waiting eight days for his return, resumed his march February 21st, leaving orders for Moraga to follow. For Rivera's assistance he left twelve of his soldiers including Sergeant Grijalva, all of whom joined their comrades at Monterey before June 17, 1776.

The incessant rains of a very wet season had made travel slow and difficult for the laden mules, and

marching in a westerly direction, Anza passed through what is now the city of Los Angeles, crossed the Rio Porciúncula (Los Angeles river), and came through the Cahuenga pass into the San Fernando valley. He camped for the night in the mouth of the pass, which he calls Puertezuelo (Little Gate). Resuming the march the next morning the expedition traveled along the southern border of the San Fernando valley and halted in the cañon of the Rio de las Virgenes at a spring called by Anza Agua Escondida, now known as Agua Amarga (Bitter Water). The next day's march was a long and difficult one of nine leagues, over the Susanna mountains, the descent of which (Liberty hill) was so steep that the women were obliged to dismount and accomplish it on foot. Passing into the Santa Clara valley they camped on the river of that name, near the present village of Saticoy. A march of two leagues in a dense fog the next morning brought them to La Asuncion, the first ranchería of the channel Indians, and the site of Anza's camp of April 11, 1775. Portolá reached this ranchería, August 14, 1769, the vespers of the feast of La Asuncion de Nuestro Senora, and gave it that name. It was then decided to establish on this site the mission of San Buenaventura, and Anza on his return march camped again on the site April 26, 1776. He then calls the river Rio de San Buenaventura. Continuing his march along the Santa Barbara channel, Anza camped for the night at the Ranchería del

Rincon, on the Arroyo del Rincon, the boundary line between Ventura and Santa Barbara counties. The Indians brought them an abundant supply of good fish, and among them Anza named sardines, obadas, and tangres, more than a third of a vara long, not counting the tail.

A march of seven leagues the next day brought the expedition to the *Rancherías de Mescaltitan*, four large Indian villages around the shore of an estero or lake, while on an island in the midst was one larger still, consisting of more than one hundred houses. On the march this day they passed through three large *rancherías*, one situated on a lake of fresh water, named by Portolá, *La Laguna de la Concepcion*, is the site of the city of Santa Barbara. When Governor Neve was about to establish the presidio and mission of Santa Barbara in 1782, he hesitated between the site of Mescaltitan and that of La Laguna, but decided in favor of the latter because the water was of better quality.¹⁷ The *rancherías* of Mescaltitan have all disappeared, but the island still preserves the name.¹⁸

The following day they passed through five *rancherías*, all abounding with fish, and finished the day's journey at *Ranchería Nueva*. Four more *rancherías* were passed the next day, February 27th, and camp made at the *Ranchería del Cojo*, just east of Point Concepcion. When Portolá reached this village August 26, 1769, he was graciously received by the chief who, being lame, was called by the

soldiers "El Cojo" (The lame one) thus giving a name for the chief and his ranchería. Crespi, priest and diarist for the expedition, "baptized" the village with the name of Santa Teresa, but El Cojo was the name that stuck and it may be seen to-day on the county maps. The next morning the expedition finished the Santa Barbara channel and turning Point Concepcion, proceeded to the mouth of the Rio de Santa Rosa (now Santa Inez) where they camped for the night.

Anza remained in camp on the Rio de Santa Rosa until the falling tide enabled him to cross, and in the afternoon of February 29th, continued the northerly march along Burton Mesa, in sight of the ocean, and came in three leagues of travel to a little lake named La Laguna Graciosa where they camped for the night. The map of the Geological survey does not show any lake in this vicinity and it has possibly disappeared. It may have been formed by the San Antonio creek which here flows into the sea. The name is perpetuated by the Cañada de la Graciosa through which the Pacific Coast railroad runs and by Graciosa station at the mouth of the cañon. Three leagues of travel the next morning brought them into a wide and beautiful valley containing a large lake, named by Portolá La Laguna Larga de los Santos Mártires, San Daniel y sus Compañeros—The Great Lake of the sainted Martyrs, St. Daniel and his Companions—now known as Lake Guadalupe, situated in the northwestern corner of Santa

Barbara county. Anza did not halt at Lake Guadalupe but pushed on to the mouth of the San Luis cañon, a long jornada of nine leagues, to the Rancharía del Buchon.

A march of three and a half leagues the next morning brought the expedition to the mission of San Luis Obispo, founded in 1772, and now a flourishing town of 3500 inhabitants. In anticipation of their arrival at the mission the colonists had smartened themselves up but disaster overtook them. Just before they reached the mission they fell into a marsh so miry that all had to dismount and make their way across it as best they could. The men had to relieve the pack animals and carry the baggage on their shoulders, while those who endeavored to preserve their finery by forcing their horses through the mire fared worse than the rest, being obliged to dismount and extricate their horses. The marsh which caused such distress was located in what is now the southern part of the town of San Luis Obispo, and one of the finest residence streets of the town to-day is Marsh street. It was the same marsh that entrapped the Portolá expedition on the *Fiesta de los Santos Inocentes*.

There was great joy in the mission of San Luis Obispo over the arrival of the expedition. Not only was it a delight to the priests and the soldiers of the *escolta* to see so many Spanish faces and hear the news from home, but they had been badly frightened by the affair at San Diego, and had been

informed by the Indians that they were to be next attacked, and that Anza had been killed and his expedition totally destroyed by the tribes of the Colorado.

Sunday, March 3rd, was given to rest, and on Monday morning the march was resumed. Traveling up the cañon of San Luis Obispo creek for seven miles, they crossed the summit of the Santa Lucía mountains by the Cuesta pass at an elevation of about 1500 feet, thence a descent of four miles brought them to Santa Margarita where now a little town marks the site and preserves the name of the ancient ranchería. Two and a half miles down the Rio de Santa Margarita they came to the Rio de Monterey (Salinas river), down which they traveled five and a half miles and camped at the ranchería of La Asumpcion (Asuncion), still so called, a good day's march of seven leagues. This is one of the sites selected by the United States government for the camp and summer manœuvres of the army. The next morning they traveled down the beautiful plain for three leagues, then left the river at a point where El Paso de Robles now stands and passed into the hills to the west, traveling in a west-northwest direction. Four leagues more brought them to the Rio del Nacimiento which they crossed and proceeded another mile to El Primo Vado of the Rio de San Antonio where they camped for the night. Resuming the march the next morning they reached the mission of San Antonio de Padua at four o'clock

in the afternoon after a march of eight leagues. Their reception here was equal to that of San Gabriel and of San Luis, and the padres regaled the troops with two very fat hogs and some hog lard. This present, Anza says, considering the condition of the country and of the priests' necessities, they highly appreciated. The following day was given to rest and at one in the afternoon, Lieutenant Moraga arrived and reported to the commander that he had captured the deserters in the desert of the Colorado and had left them prisoners at San Gabriel to be dealt with by Captain Rivera. He also reported that the Serranos of the Sierra Madre had made hostile demonstrations against him, but when he charged them they dispersed. He said that the Indians had secretly killed three of the stolen horses to prevent their recapture, and that he had noted in their possession articles indicating that they had taken part in the sacking of San Diego.

Leaving the mission the next morning, the Spaniards passed up Mission creek and descended Releuse cañon to Arroyo Seco, down which they traveled to the valley of the Rio de Monterey and halted for the night at the site of Anza's camp of April 17, 1774, which he now calls Los Ositos (the Little Bears). The next day they traveled eight leagues through a spacious and delightful valley and camped at a place called by them Los Correos. The following day, Sunday, March 10, 1776, they marched three leagues down the river, then leaving

it, turned westward for four leagues more, all in a heavy rain, and at half past four in the afternoon reached the Royal Presidio of Monterey and the end of their journey. Anza gives the distance traveled from Tubac as three hundred and sixteen and a half leagues, made in sixty-two jornadas—somewhat fewer than he had calculated before starting.

The next morning the very beloved father-president of the missions, Fray Junípero Serra,¹⁹ accompanied by three other religious, came from the mission of San Carlos del Carmelo to congratulate the travelers and bid them welcome, the priests sang a mass as an act of thanks for the happy arrival of the expedition, after which Padre Font preached a sermon. In the evening the señor comandante and his chaplain accompanied the priests to the mission, one league distant, as there were no proper accommodations for them at the presidio. Anza notes that the number of Christian converts has been increased to more than three hundred souls, and he says that here, as in the other missions he has passed through, they do not, with all they raise, produce enough to maintain themselves, because, while the land is very fertile, there has been no means of planting it, although this year the amount of land under cultivation is much greater than before; “and in proportion as this abounds will be the spiritual conquest, since the Indians are many, and if,

as we say of the greater part of these, conversion and faith enter by the mouth, so much greater will be our success."

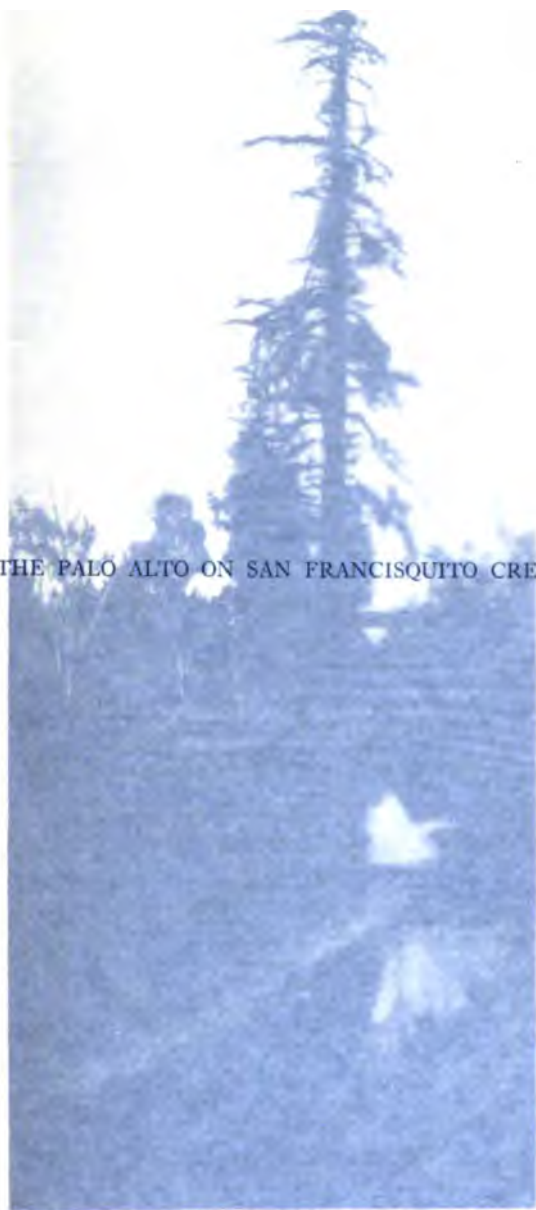
The viceroy had ordered Anza to deliver his expedition to Rivera, the comandante of California, at Monterey, and proceed to make a survey of the port and river of San Francisco before returning to his presidio of Tubac. Two days after his arrival at the mission, while preparing for his survey, Anza was suddenly taken with most violent pains in the left leg and groin. So great was the pain that he could scarcely breathe and believed that he would suffocate and die. After six hours of torment, during which the doctor of the presidio administered such remedies as he had without giving him relief, Anza had them make a poultice of a root among his own stores, which somewhat alleviated the pain, but not enough to enable him to sleep. For over a week he was unable to move, but on the ninth day he got out of bed, and on the day following, in spite of the remonstrance of the doctor, he mounted his horse and began his journey to the San Francisco peninsula, going as far as the presidio of Monterey. There he rested, being able to walk but a few steps. The next day, March 23rd, he set out, accompanied by Padre Font, Lieutenant Moraga, and an escort of eleven soldiers. While sick at the mission he had sent to Rivera to say that the soldiers of the expedition were anxious to reach their destination and get settled in their new home and he begged Rivera

to join him in establishing the fort and mission of San Francisco as ordered by the viceroy; and notified him that he should himself proceed at once to the survey and examination of the port. The travelers made seven leagues across the valley of Santa Delfina, as Font calls it, and camped at the mouth of a cañon at a place called La Natividad, probably an Indian ranchería. The village of Natividad now marks the site and preserves the name. The place was the scene of a sharp little engagement November 16, 1846, between a detachment of sixty Americans under Captain Burrows and a force of about eighty Californians under Don Manuel de Jesus Castro. The valley, which is the lower Monterey or Salinas, was given the name of Santa Delfina, *virgen y esposa* de San Elcearo*, by Portolá.

Leaving the Salinas valley, the explorers passed into the Gavilan mountains, traveling up the beautiful cañon of Gavilan creek, over the summit, and descended to the San Benito river. They crossed the San Benito just north of where the mission of San Juan Bautista now stands and entered upon the Llano de San Pascual, now called the San Benito valley, passed the Rio del Pájaro, entered the San Bernardino valley and camped for the night on the Arroyo de las Llagas. The following morning the explorers passed between the low hills where the valley narrows to the Coyote river and entered upon

* *Esposa*, as used here, does not mean spouse—wife, but a young woman who devotes herself to the service of the holy man.

THE PALO ALTO ON SAN FRANCISQUITO CREEK



THE BEGINNINGS OF SAN FRANCISCO

On the 15th of July, 1776, the expedition for the establishment of the mission of San Francisco was ordered by the viceroy, and notified by the governor of California. Pineda, who was at the time in command of the port, The travelers crossed the bay and entered the valley of Santa Del-
the mouth of the bay, and camped at the mouth of the bay, which was called La Natividad, probably the site of the present village of Natividad. The village of Natividad has since been abandoned and preserves the name. The expedition was the result of a sharp little engagement between a detachment of soldiers under Captain Burrows and a party of eighty Californians under Don Manuel. The valley, which is the lower part of the bay, was given the name of Santa Clara, or San Elcario, by Portolá. They, the explorers passed through the mountains, traveling up the bay, over the creek, over the summit, and down the San Benito river. They camped just north of where the mission of San Benito now stands and entered upon the bay, now called the San Benito river. The Rio de San Benito, entered the San Benito river and camped for the night on the bay. The following morning the expedition entered the low hills where the bay is now, and entered upon the bay.

of the San Benito river, but a young woman who was the only man.



the great Llano de los Robles del Puerto de San Francisco—The Plain of the Oaks of the Port of San Francisco—now better known as the Santa Clara valley—and keeping well to the western part, they traveled along the base of the foot hills and camped on the Arroyo de San José Cupertino, where from an elevation of about three hundred feet, they saw the bay of San Francisco some seven miles to the north. A march of four leagues the next morning brought the *exploradores* to the Arroyo de San Francisco, now known as the San Francisquito creek, the site of Stanford University and of Portolá's camp of November 6th to 11th, 1769. A little ranchería of about twenty huts on the bank of the stream received the name of Palo Alto in honor of a giant redwood tree growing on the bank, whose size, height, and appearance is recorded by both Anza and Font as it had been by Father Crespi six years before. The name has been retained and the people of the pretty university town are fond of their name and proud of their tree.

Anza found on the bank of the creek a cross which had been planted by Rivera in 1774, to mark the spot for a mission, but the plan had been abandoned, he says, because the creek was dry in summer. Passing on the explorers crossed the Arroyo de San Mateo and halted for the night on a little stream about a league beyond. Anza comments upon the abundance of oaks and other trees they have been passing through during the last two days and

particularly notes the many tall and thick laurels of extraordinary and very fragrant scent. He has been traveling through the most beautiful section of California. After breaking camp early the next morning a march of three and a half leagues brought the Spaniards to the mouth of the port of San Francisco, and they camped at Mountain Lake, known afterwards as Laguna del Presidio. Anza does not give any name to the lake but the creek running from it to the sea he calls the Arroyo del Puerto and says its flow is considerable and sufficient for a mill; while Font says that boats can come into it for water. Its present name is Lobos creek and it is but a little brooklet*.

Pitching his camp at the laguna, Anza went at once to inspect the entrance to the bay for the purpose of selecting a site for a fort. Font grows enthusiastic over the wonderful bay. He says the port of San Francisco is a marvel of nature and may be called the port of ports. He gives at length an excellent description of it; its shores; its islands; the great river which disembogues into the Bahia Redondo (San Pablo bay), which has been called the Rio de San Francisco, and which, he says, he will henceforth call La Boca del Puerto Dulce—The Mouth of the Fresh Water Port. At eight

* The government is taking measures to fortify the mouth of Lobos creek, which forms the southern boundary of the Presidio reservation, not to prevent the boats of a hostile fleet from entering the creek, but as a part of the system adopted for fortifying the harbor of San Francisco.

**FONT'S MAP OF THE ENTRANCE TO
SAN FRANCISCO BAY**

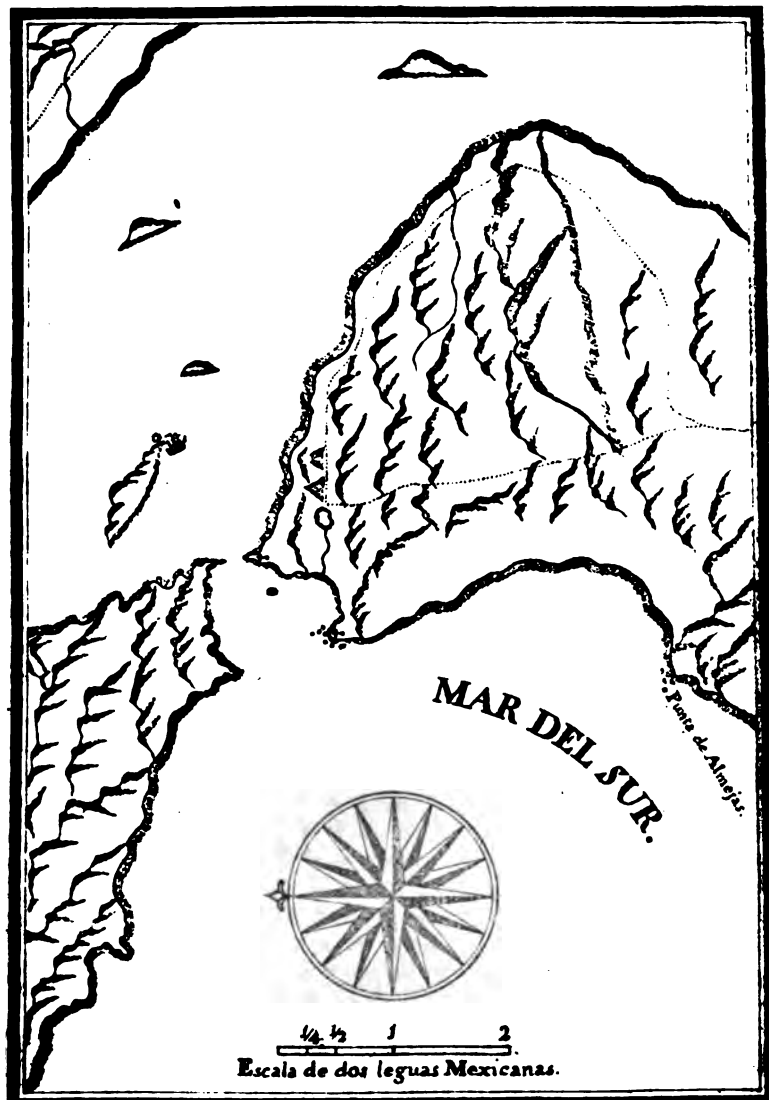
**Facsimile of drawing accompanying his diary in John Carter
Brown Library, Providence, R. I.**

By permission of GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, Librarian.

POINTS MAP OF THE ENTRANCE TO
SAN FRANCISCO BAY
Facsimile of drawing accompanying his diary in John Carter
Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
By permission of George Parker Winship, Librarian.

1. 1800

Plan de la Boca del Puerto de San Francisco, situado en 37° 49'.



o'clock the next morning Anza resumed his survey, and going to the place where the entrance to the bay was narrowest, which he called Punta del Cantil Blanco—Point of the Steep White Rock, now called Fort Point—and where, he says, no one had hitherto been, he planted a cross to mark the spot where the fort should be built, and at its foot, underground, he placed a notice of what he had seen. Between the Laguna del Presidio and the Punto del Cantil Blanco is a *mesa*—table-land—having an elevation of some three hundred and fifty feet, about a mile in breadth and a trifle more in length, narrowing to the north until it ends in the Cantil Blanco. Font says: "This mesa presents a most delicious view. From it may be seen a great part of the port and its islands, the mouth of the port, and of the sea, the view reaching beyond the Farallones.* The Señor Comandante designated this mesa for the site of a new town."†

The comandante, taking with him his lieutenant, now turned to explore the inner coast of the peninsula. He encountered some streams and trees,

* The Farallon Islands; about twenty-five miles off the coast.

† Captain Benjamin Morrell, who visited the port in May, 1825, says: "The town of San Francisco stands on a table-land, about three hundred and fifty feet above the sea, on a peninsula five miles in width, on the south side of the entrance to the bay, about two miles to the east of the outer entrance, and one-fourth of a mile from the shore" (*Morrell's Narrative* p. 211). The settlement at the presidio was abandoned after 1835-6, when the Americans and other foreigners began to build their trading-houses and residences at Yerba Buena. It was not on the *mesa* but on the lower and more sheltered ground of the presidio.

mostly of oak, of good thickness, but twisted against the ground by the prevailing northwest winds.²⁰ About three-quarters of a league from camp he came upon a little lake of good water, known to the Spaniards as Laguna Pequeña and to the San Francisco pioneers as Fresh Pond, or Washerwomen's Lagoon, from which he thought water for irrigation might be drawn. Continuing along the eastern shore of the bay he came to a large lake into which flowed a good stream or spring—*ojo de agua**—, and which appeared as if it might be permanent in the driest season, while the land about it was fertile and promised abundant reward for cultivation. He returned to camp about five o'clock much pleased with the result of his examination.

The next morning, Friday, March 29th, Anza packed the baggage and sent it by the road of his coming with orders to await him at the Arroyo de San Mateo; then taking his padre capellan, Pedro Font, and an escort of five soldiers, he went to complete his examination of the southeastern part of the peninsula and of the lake he had seen the day before, to which he gave the name of Laguna de Manantial. He also examined the stream—*ojo de agua*—which Font calls a beautiful little rivulet, and because the day was the Friday of Sorrows—*Viernes de Dolores*†—Anza named it Arroyo de los Dolores.”

* *Ojo de agua*, means a spring of water or a spring from which flows a stream of water. Anza frequently used the expression to denote a small stream.

† The Friday of Sorrows is the Friday before Palm Sunday.

Thus originated a name that became the official designation of a very large and thickly settled section of the city of San Francisco—the Mission Dolores—shortened in the vernacular to the “Mission.” Anza found here all the requirements for a mission: fertile land for cultivation, unequalled in goodness and abundance; with fuel and water, timber and stone suitable for building; nothing was wanting. Anza speaks with enthusiasm of the new town and mission. The fort, he said, shall be built where the entrance to the port is narrowest and where he set up the cross, the town on the mesa behind it, and the mission in this quiet beautiful valley, sufficiently near the fort to be under its protection, but far enough away to insure its peaceful serenity.

Having settled these details Anza proceeded across the peninsula to examine the Laguna de la Merced, which is situated near the ocean shore in the southwestern part of the city, thence he turned into the Cañada de San Andres,* through which he traveled its entire length of some six and a half leagues; and he gives an account of the abundance of suitable timber for building, speaking particularly of the red-wood—*palo colorado*, the oak, poplar, willow,

* It extends from a little north of Point San Pedro southerly to the San Francisquito creek. It was from the heights as he crossed into it that Portolá first saw the bay of San Francisco. It formed part of the Buri Buri and Las Pulgas grants and now belongs to the Spring Valley Water Company and contains their principal reservoirs.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SAN FRANCISCO

of its proximity to the bay and of the facility with which the lumber could be gotten there. He also suggests that the second bay mission could be established in this cañada, and would serve as a stopping-place—*escala*—between Monterey and San Francisco. In the cañada an enormous bear came out against them and they succeeded in killing it. At 6.15, after dark, they reached the camp on the Arroyo de San Mateo.

The following morning, March 31st, they proceeded to the survey of the Rio de San Francisco, keeping to the road of their coming until they reached the San Francisquito, then leaving the road they passed around the head of the bay and came to a large arroyo which they crossed and camped for the night. Anza gave the name of Rio de Guadalupe to the stream, a name it still bears, and said it had abundant and good timber, and lands that would support a large population." The next morning the march was resumed and crossing with some difficulty the Coyote river, they traveled northward for seven leagues and camped on the San Leandro creek, named by Fages in 1772 Arroyo de San Salvador. They passed six rancherías, the people of which, being unaccustomed to seeing white men, fled in terror. Anza endeavored to pacify them and gave presents of food and trinkets to all who would approach him. The Indians of the San Francisco bay were of darker color than those of the Colorado and the Santa Barbara channel, many wore beards

and all wore hair long and tied up on top of the head. Three leagues of travel the next morning brought the exploradores to the site of the University of California at Berkeley, "a point opposite the disembogement of the estero commonly called San Francisco," and they gazed out through the Golden Gate to the broad Pacific beyond. Anza noted his opinion that the estero was not five leagues broad, as had been stated, but scarcely four.* Proceeding on their journey they climbed over the treeless hills and crossed the deep arroyos of Contra Costa and camped for the night very close to the "disembogement of the Rio de San Francisco into the port of that name." Font gives a very good description of San Pablo bay (Bahia Redonda) and speculates whether the large cove and stretch of water which from a high hill he could see away to the west, one-quarter northwest, communicated with the port of Bodega, discovered six months before by Lieutenant Juan Francisco de Bodega y Cuadra. What Font saw was Napa slough. The camp that night was on Rodeo creek about two and a half miles from Carquines strait. On the following day, April 2d, the command proceeded a short distance up the strait and halted to take the latitude of the place, to observe the condition of the "river," and to measure its breadth and depth. Both Anza and Font doubted if it were a river at all as there appeared

* 4 leagues: 10.4 miles. It is 9.75 miles from the Berkeley shore to the Marin coast.

to be no current and there was no evidence of freshets in the shape of driftwood and rubbish thrown up on its banks. They both tasted the water and found it brackish but not so salty as the sea. They record their observation of the sun as giving the latitude $38^{\circ} 5' 14''$. Resuming the march in the afternoon they saw the so-called river begin to widen out until it took on the appearance of a laguna rather than that of a river,* then turning somewhat to the south to avoid the marshes they camped for the night on the bank of an arroyo of wholesome water that had been named by Fages Arroyo de Santa Angela de Fulgino, now known as Walnut creek. The next morning they crossed the valley of Santa Angela de Fulgino in a northwest direction, entered Willow Pass and mounted a hill, from the top of which they could see how the river divided itself into three arms or branches, as described by Don Pedro Fages. Descending the hill they tried to approach the river, but were prevented by the marshes. Continuing to the east-northeast for two and a half leagues they came to the river and to a large ranchería of some four hundred Indians who received them with friendly demonstrations and gave them cooked slices of salmon, while Anza reciprocated with the usual presents. Tasting the water of the river they found it quite fresh and were persuaded that what Captain Fages had called the

* This was Suisun bay.

Rio de San Francisco was not a river at all, but a great fresh water sea. They were now on the San Joaquin river.

Resuming his march to the east-northeast for about one league, Anza climbed a high hill to observe the country and from this vantage point he saw a confusion of water, tulares, forest, and level plain of an extension unmeasurable. To the east, beyond the plain, he saw a great sierra nevada, white from the summit down, which appeared to run from southeast to northwest, while northward to the horizon extended the plain, encroached upon by the sea of fresh water and tulares. With the doubt that the Rio de San Francisco was a river at all becoming more fixed in his mind, he descended to the water and camped for the night in a grove of oaks near an abandoned ranchería, which he called San Ricardo. This was at or near the site of the present town of Antioch. It was here that Fages in 1772 gave up the attempt to reach Point Reyes, and turned back to Monterey. Anza again tasted the water and found it crystalline, cool, fresh, and good. Seeing that the breeze caused some gentle waves to wash the beach or shore, he took a good sized pole and threw it as far out on the water as he could, but instead of being carried down the stream it was washed ashore by the little waves. He resolved to go further up the river or laguna and see if he could ascertain what it was. Noting the rise and fall of the tide he posted Lieutenant Moraga to watch throughout

the night and measure its height. They found that the difference between high and low water was eight feet and eleven inches. All this convinced Font that the Rio de San Francisco was no river at all but a fresh water sea, and he named it Puerto Dulce—Fresh-water Port, a name which was frequently used by the Spaniards in speaking of Suisun bay. One who has been through the waste of waters of the San Joaquin delta can understand what it might have been one hundred and thirty years ago in the spring of the year. Anza still retained his doubt and from this day used the term, Rio ó Laguna de San Francisco, in alluding to it. Until two o'clock the following afternoon Anza struggled on foot and on horseback to overcome the obstacles which prevented him from reaching the plains on the northeast, but the farther he went the farther he was diverted from his true direction and the more his course was obstructed by water running into the river or laguna. He was now informed by two soldiers of his escort who belonged to the Monterey garrison that the water came from the tulares* that reached as far south as the mission of San Luis Obispo, that they were thirty leagues in breadth and were unfordable even in the dry season. Realizing that what he attempted could only be accom-

* "The Tulares" is a large tract of marsh reaching from Kern lake in the Upper San Joaquin valley to Butte in the Sacramento—a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles—and filled with tules or bulrushes. It has been largely drained and contains some of the richest land in California.

**FONT'S MAP OF EXPLORATIONS, MONTEREY
TO SAN FRANCISCO**

Facsimile of drawing accompanying diary.

By permission of GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, Librarian.

NINGS OF SAN FRANCISCO

measure its height. They found that
between high and low water was eight
feet. This convinced Font
that the name was no good at all
and he named it Puerto Dulce—
the sweet water which was flowing
from the spring of Santa Fe.
Although the waste of water of
the spring was not great and which it might
be used for many years ago
the name was retained for some
time. As the name was used the term, Rio de San
Francisco, in allusion to it. Until two or three
years ago the name was not used and
the name was not used.

FONT'S MAP OF EXPLORATIONS, MONTEREY TO SAN FRANCISCO

The map was
by the late George Parker Winans, Librarian
of the University of California.

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Font's map of the lake is
a distance of 10
miles from the lake
to the city.



plished by a detour of three or four hundred miles and that a survey could be better made from San Luis Obispo, Anza turned and rode straight to the southwest in the direction of Monterey, and traveling four and a half leagues camped for the night in the foot hills of the Monte del Diablo range. Being without a guide he had crossed the entrance to the Livermore pass, missed a very easy road through Livermore valley to the route of his upward journey and plunged into about as rough a mountain country as could be found in America. For the next two days he struggled with the difficulties of the mountain passage, frequently turning back to escape from impassable cañons and on April 6th emerged from the cordillera into the Santa Clara valley by the cañon of Coyote creek. The explorers' route from the camp in the Livermore hills was by the cañon of the Arroyo de Bueno Ayres to the summit of the mountains whence they looked down upon the great San Joaquin valley; thence descending into the Arroyo Mocho they traveled some five miles, passing to the west of Cerro Colorado, which they noted, and camping in San Antonio valley. The second day's route was over the divide to the cañon of the east fork of the Coyote creek down which they traveled, climbing into and out of the dangerous cañon, and camped at night near the site of Gilroy Hot Springs. It was a difficult journey. Anza says that the hardships of the march were very great. "If we traveled by the cañons we were impeded by the rocks, and when

we attempted the heights we nearly fell over the precipices. The sierra, whose width and dangerous heights no one would have believed we could surmount, was named by those who came before 'La Sierra del Charco.'"

The rest of the journey was easy and rapid. They reached the presidio of Monterey at 10.30 in the morning of April 8th, and Anza went to the mission of the C  rmelo to cure his leg, from which he was still suffering. On April 13th he sent five soldiers to the presidio of San Diego, where Rivera still lingered, to request the comandante of California to meet him at the mission of San Gabriel on the 25th or 26th of April, and come to some agreement regarding the duty with which they were both charged, viz: the establishment of the presidio and mission of San Francisco. Then with but slight improvement in his malady, Anza went to the presidio of Monterey to deliver to Lieutenant Moraga the command of the expedition.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of April 14th Anza began his return march to Mexico. With the commander was his chaplain, Fray Pedro Font, the purveyor of the expedition, Don Mariano Vidal, his escort of ten soldiers, and twelve vaqueros, arrieros, and servants—twenty-five in all. He was also accompanied by two priests of San Luis Obispo, visiting at Monterey, who availed themselves of this opportunity for returning. "This day," he writes, "has been the saddest that said presidio (of

Monterey) has experienced since it was founded. As I mounted my horse in its plaza, the greater part of the people I had brought from their country, and particularly the women, remembering the treatment, good or bad, they have experienced from me while under my command, came dissolved in tears, which they shed publicly, not so much because of their banishment as because of my departure, and with embraces and wishes for my happiness bade me farewell, giving me praises I do not deserve. I was deeply moved by their gratitude and affection, which I reciprocate, and I testify that from the beginning up to to-day I have not seen any sign of desertion in any of these whom I have brought from their country to remain in this distant place; and in praise of their fidelity I may be permitted to make this memorial of a people who in the course of time will come to be very useful to the monarchy in whose service they have voluntarily left parents and country, which is everything one can abandon."

Returning by the road he had come Anza met on the morning of the second day, the sergeant whom he had sent with dispatches to Rivera. Delivering to Anza two letters from Rivera the soldier requested the honor of a private interview in which he communicated to Anza the fact that Rivera, who was following close behind, had been excommunicated at San Diego for having violated the sanctuary of the church in taking therefrom by force an Indian criminal; that in his opinion the comandante was

mad; that he had treated him with indignity and had reduced him from the rank of sergeant; that the comandante had first refused to receive Anza's letters, and on the following day had demanded them and at the same time, without opening them had given him the letters for Anza and bade him begone. Anza opened Rivera's letters and found they contained a refusal to join him in the establishment of the presidio at San Francisco.

Directing the sergeant to continue his way to Monterey Anza resumed his march and a league further on met Rivera. Anza saluted the comandante courteously with an enquiry for his health, but without halting Rivera answered the enquiry and spurred his horse forward with a short "good-bye." Anza called to him, "Well! about the letter lately written you, you shall answer me in Mexico—or wherever you wish"; to which Rivera replied, "Very well." This so enraged Anza that he called on the priests with him to witness Rivera's discourtesy."

At San Luis Obispo Anza was overtaken by a messenger from Junípero Serra who requested his good offices in the matter of the Indians concerned in the late rebellion at San Diego who had now offered their submission. The messenger also brought a letter from Rivera, apologizing for his discourtesy, and both priest and soldier asked Anza to await their arrival from Monterey. Anza waited, but the conference resulted in nothing. The two officers did not meet but conducted their negotiations by

letter. Rivera, from his camp a short distance from San Luis, requested a conference at San Gabriel. Anza, who had lost four days in waiting, pushed on for San Gabriel where he waited three days more for Rivera to appear, and then resumed his march, first sending to Rivera a plan of the port of San Francisco, with the places selected for the fort and mission. At the Santa Ana river he was again overtaken by a messenger from Rivera who wrote that he had been so busy over the papers in the affair at San Diego that he had had no time to write to his excellency, the viceroy. He begged Anza to make his excuses to the viceroy and at the same time enclosed him a letter to be delivered to the father guardian of the College of San Fernando. Anza, who was out of patience with Rivera's trifling and considered it disrespectful for him to write to the guardian and not to the viceroy, refused to receive the letter and sent it back. Crossing the San Jacinto mountains by the route he had come, he reached the Cienega de San Sebastian on the evening of May 7th. Wishing to cross the desert in one jornada if possible Anza made what he calls a *tardeada*—a late march—and starting at 12.45 p.m. of May 8th reached the Laguna de Santa Olalla at midnight of the 9th, having traveled twenty-five leagues with two rests of five and a half hours each. Joyfully received by the Indians of Santa Olalla, who brought the travelers an abundance of maize, beans, and other eatables, Anza rested his weary men and caballerías until

three o'clock of the next afternoon and then resumed his march for the junction of the rivers, where he arrived at eleven on the morning of May 11th.

At the Puerto de la Concepcion Anza found Padre Esaire, one of the two priests that had accompanied him from Horcasitas to the Colorado river; the other, Garcés, had gone up the river, whence he had crossed the Mojave desert into the interior of California and was, at that moment on the Kern river on his way back from San Gabriel. Anza dispatched a letter by an Indian messenger to the place where Garcés was supposed to be, saying that he would wait three days and then resume his journey. He then began collecting logs for a raft, for the river was running full.

The next day came Palma, chief of the Yumas, to remind Anza of his agreement to take him to the City of Mexico. Anza represented to the chief that the City of Mexico was a great distance off, and that if Palma went there he would be a long time away from his people. Palma asked how many years he would be away and the comandante told him not more than one at most. Palma said it was well; that he had provided for the government of his nation during his absence, and he presented to Anza two underchiefs to whom he had committed the administration of affairs. Anza required him also to select three of his people to accompany him, that there might be witnesses to report to the Yumas

if anything should befall their chief, and then, after consultation with the priests, granted Palma's petition.*

They now prepared to cross the river, selecting a place where it was compressed to about one hundred varas in width. The current was very rapid but the banks were approachable. One raft was launched on the morning of the 13th, loaded with some of Anza's people and baggage, directed by twenty-three Yumas swimming, and made the journey in safety, but consumed five and a half hours on the trip. At four o'clock another raft was sent over and made the opposite shore, but far down the stream, and was so badly damaged that the Yumas did not attempt to return it that night.

At daybreak the next morning the river was much higher and the great force of the water made the passage of the train very difficult. The provisions and such of the freight as could be divided into small portions were sent over in *coritas* and *cajetes grandes*,† which the women, swimming, pushed before them like little boats. Owing to the swiftness of the current a woman would have to swim more than fifteen hundred varas—four-fifths of a mile—in going and coming, and they had to bring back

* Anza took with him to the City of Mexico Palma, his brother, a son of Pablo, and a Cajunche Indian—four in all. They lived with him in a house in the Calle de la Merced and were handsomely entertained. They were baptized February 13, 1777; Don José Gomez, Cabo de Alabarderos, was sponsor.

† Corita—a large, shallow, water-tight basket.

Cajete—a flat, earthen bowl.

the empty vessels. Anza says that some of the women made twelve trips. All they asked for the service was a few glass beads, which Anza gave them in abundance. A raft was sent over at midday with some of the people of the expedition, and late in the afternoon two others were completed on which the rest of the command embarked. On the larger of the two were the comandante, the two priests, the purveyor, and some soldiers—thirteen persons in all. It was managed by forty Yumas in the water, but as it was leaving the bank it began to sink. Instantly more than two hundred Yumas—among them many women, plunged into the river and with much noise and shouting the raft was passed over to the other shore, traveling some eight hundred varas, its passengers safe, but a little wet.* Anza says: "I have, before this, made the statement which I now most emphatically confirm, that the fact of our having the people of this river for friends, enables us to cross it with the fewest difficulties, and that were the contrary the case, it would be almost impossible to make the passage."*

On May 15th, having seen all his people and baggage safely over the river, Anza resumed his march, passing up the Gila some thirty-one and a half

* After the destruction of the missions of the Colorado in 1781, the overland route from Sonora was closed until sometime after the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was reopened in 1823, but there was always trouble with the Yumas.

miles to the Laguna Salada; then leaving the river he struck across the Papaguería, direct to the south-east and by forced marches reached Carrizal, the sink of the Sonoita, about noon of the 19th, having lost six caballerías on the passage. From here on to the mission of Caborca on the Rio del Altar he followed the route of his upward passage of 1774. Starting from Caborca on the 25th, he continued his route to the southeast. At Real de la Cieneguilla, a rich gold mining camp, he took under his protection a pack-train that was waiting for an escort, this portion of the country being infested with Apaches, and reached San Miguel de Horcasitas and the end of his journey, June 1, 1776.

Here ends the diary. Anza's mission was accomplished. He had taken his people through in safety to Monterey, meeting with skill and courage the perils of the way—the cold, the deserts, the mountains, and the rivers—and he testifies that of all those entrusted to his care, not one had been lost except the woman who died in childbirth the first night out from Tubac. He had left them in a strange and far country and they had parted from him with tears, not because they had left home and friends, but because they should see his face no more.

Anza's character may be read in the pages of his diary. He was by nature simple and kindly, responsive to the call of duty and true to the "chivalrous traditions of heroic Spain." It is not easy to estimate the value of the services of this gallant

soldier, and the monument erected in San Francisco to the Pioneers of California is incomplete without his name.

From San Diego Rivera wrote Moraga to build houses at Monterey for the people of the expedition as there would be a year's delay before the presidio could be founded at San Francisco; but on May 8th, the comandante, having changed his mind, ordered the lieutenant to proceed to San Francisco and establish the fort on the site selected by Anza, also instructing him to notify the priests that the founding of the two missions was for the present suspended. In conformity therefore with this order Lieutenant Moraga with Sergeant Grijalva and sixteen soldiers, two priests, seven colonists, besides servants, arrieros, and vaqueros, left Monterey, June 17th, and took the road followed by Anza to the peninsula of San Francisco. They traveled slowly, the men having their families with them, and on the 27th reached the site selected by Anza for the mission and camped on the bank of the Laguna de Manantial, which they called the Laguna de los Dolores, taking the name from the arroyo. The packet boat San Carlos was to sail from Monterey with the stores and the remainder of the expedition. While waiting the arrival of the vessel Moraga employed the men in cutting timber for the buildings of the presidio and mission. After waiting a month for the vessel Moraga moved the greater part of his command to the site selected for the presidio, leaving six soldiers

**THE MISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS
AS IT APPEARED IN 1849**

**Photographed by TURRILL and MILLER from a
daguerreotype.**

AS IT APPEARED IN 1840 THE MISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS

Photographed by Turrell and Miller from a

Background:

[illegible]



to guard the camp on the Laguna de los Dolores. On August 18th the *paquebot* arrived, seventy-three days from Monterey, having been driven by adverse winds as far south as San Diego. The commander of the San Carlos, Lieutenant Fernando de Quiros, sent his sailors ashore and they, with the soldiers, began the construction of the buildings at the presidio and mission. At the former were built a chapel, a storehouse, and quarters for the troops, all of wood, and thatched with rushes. Before the arrival of the San Carlos, on the 10th day of August, 1776, was born the first white child in San Francisco to the wife of the soldier De Soto in the camp at the mission.

On the 17th of September, "The anniversary of the impression of the wounds of our father Saint Francis, patron of the presidio and fort," as Father Palou says, they took formal possession of the presidio. Father Palou said mass, blessed the site, and after the elevation and adoration of the Holy Cross, concluded the religious services with the Te Deum. Then Moraga and his officers took formal possession in the name of the sovereign and with discharges of cannon by the San Carlos and the shore batteries, and volleys of musketry from the troops, the city of San Francisco was born.*

* The authorities for the narrative of Anza's two journeys are his diary of 1774, his diary of 1775-6, Pedro Font's diary of 1775-6, and Garcés diary of 1775-6. Of Anza's subsequent career little is known. After his return from California he was made governor of New Mexico where he served until April, 1788. He died December 19th of that year and his widow and heirs were paid a year's salary of a colonel of cavalry—twenty-four hundred dollars.

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CHAPTER VII.
COLONIZATION
1769-1836

BEFORE proceeding to the story of the formation of the modern city of San Francisco let us consider the method adopted for the reduction and settlement of the newly occupied territory and the administration of its affairs, temporal and spiritual.

In the scheme to colonize California the missions were to play an important part. They were intended from the beginning to be temporary in their character, and it was contemplated that in ten years from their foundation they should cease. It was supposed that within that period of time the Indians would be sufficiently instructed in Christianity and the arts of civilized life to assume the position and character of citizens; that these mission settlements would become pueblos, and that the mission churches would become parish churches, organized like other establishments of an ecclesiastical character in other portions of the nation where no missions ever existed.* The missionary establishments were widely different from the ordinary ecclesiastical organizations. They had for their object something more than the spiritual care of those connected with them. They were intended not merely to christianize but to civilize the Indians; to instruct them in the arts, and to guide their labors; and the charge was committed to priests who were specially trained in such work. The scheme was not a new one; it had

* Judge Alpheus Felch, of the Land Commission: Opinion in re Petition of the Bishop of California.

been in operation in Sonora and Lower California for a hundred years, but it was expanded in California and its results, aside from its colonizing value, justified those who put it into operation. "At the end of sixty years (1834) the missionaries of Alta California found themselves in possession of twenty-one prosperous missions, planted upon a line of about seven hundred miles, running from San Diego north to the latitude of Sonoma. More than thirty thousand Indian converts were lodged in the mission buildings, receiving religious culture, assisting at divine worship and cheerfully performing their easy tasks. Over four hundred thousand horned cattle pastured on the plains as well as sixty thousand horses and more than three hundred thousand sheep, goats, and swine. Seventy thousand bushels of wheat were raised annually, which, with maize, beans and the like, made up an annual crop of one hundred and twenty thousand bushels; while, according to the climate, the different missions rivaled each other in the production of wine, brandy, soap, leather, hides, wool, oil, cotton, hemp, linen, tobacco, salt, and soda. Of two hundred thousand horned cattle slaughtered annually, the missions furnished about one half, whose hides and tallow were sold at a net result of about ten dollars each, making a million dollars from that source alone, while other articles of which no definite statistics can be obtained doubtless reached an equal value, making a total production by the missions themselves, of two

millions of dollars per annum. Gardens, vineyards, and orchards surrounded all the missions, except Dolores, San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano; the climate of the first being too inhospitable, and the two latter, born near the advent of the Mexican revolution, being stifled in their infancy. The other missions, according to their latitude, were ornamented and enriched with plantations of palm trees, bananas, oranges, olives, and figs, with orchards of European fruits, and with vast and fertile vineyards, whose products were equally valuable for sale and exchange, and for the diet and comfort of the inhabitants.

“Aside from these valuable properties and from the mission buildings, the self-moving or live stock of the missions, valued at their current rates, amounted to three millions of dollars of the most active capital, bringing enormous annual returns upon its aggregate amount, and, owing to the great fertility of animals in California, more than repairing its annual waste by slaughter.

“Such was the great religious success of the Catholic missions in Upper California; such their material prosperity in the year 1834, even after many depredations had been committed upon them by the first governors of the regime of ‘Independence.’”*

* John W. Dwinelle: *The Colonial History of the City of San Francisco*, page 44.

After the conquest of California the absolute title to the land vested in the crown, and the Indians were recognized as the owners, under the crown, of all the land needed for their support. The missionaries had only the use of the land for mission purposes, namely: to prepare the Indians that they might, in time, take possession of the land then held in common. This accomplished, the missions were to be secularized and made pueblos and the missionaries returned to their convent. As the years rolled by the missions became wealthy and were indisposed to relinquish the power they had acquired. In their zealous efforts to protect the interests of their wards they claimed all the land, extending their possessions from one extremity of the territory to the other, making the bounds of one mission form those of another, and fighting every grant made to an individual. They held the Indians in subjection and were served by them without pay, receiving only food and a very limited amount of clothing. When it came to a division of the property under the orders for secularization, the Indians sold or otherwise disposed of their portions about as soon as they were put in possession. The entire scheme failed for the reason that the Indian's lazy, shiftless nature, further weakened by sixty years of slavery, made it impossible for him to assume the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

The most important factor in the colonization of California was the soldier. The presidial soldiers

were enlisted for ten years and on the expiration of this term of service they were entitled to land in such quantity as they could use. Failure to put land to use worked a forfeiture of the grant. In the expectation of turning the soldier into a settler care was taken to select only those who would make good citizens, and usually married men were taken. Settlers were also enrolled and received rations, and pay for a specified period. They were required to live in the pueblos of the Spaniards, where to each settler (*poblador*) was given a building lot, a lot for cultivation, varying from seven to fourteen acres, the use of the common pasture lands for his cattle, and for the common use of all were the rights of Montes and Aguas—the woods and waters. In return, the settler was bound to hold himself ready to march at the order of the governor. In spite of the inducements thus held out but few settlers would come, and the government was dependent for population on the natural increase from the families of the garrisons. When the establishment of the pueblo of Los Angeles was ordered, Rivera was sent to enroll twenty-four married men, healthy and robust, likely to lead regular lives, and to set a good example to the natives. Extra inducements in the way of increased pay and other privileges were promised, but the best he could do was the collection of twelve men and their families; viz: two Spaniards, two negros, four Indians, two mulatos, one

mestizo, and one "Chino."* With this motley crew the famous pueblo of La Reina de los Angeles was founded. Three of these promising settlers were, within a year, pronounced worthless, their property was taken from them, and they were sent away.

Nor was the attempt to establish the Villa de Branciforte more successful. A miserable band of vagabonds was collected at Guadalajara and sent up to Monterey on the transport Concepcion. They arrived May 12, 1797,† and the villa was founded some time in July. There were nine of the founders; one had a wife and five children and two others brought wives. They were a worthless lot and continually in trouble with the authorities. Later the village became the home of many retired soldiers. The site selected for the Villa de Branciforte was across the river from Santa Cruz, and there it was founded despite the protests of the padres, who did not wish a pueblo of Spaniards so near the mission. It was named in honor of the Marquis de Branciforte, viceroy of New Spain and now forms a part of the city of Santa Cruz. This ended the attempts of Spain to form pueblos of Spaniards in California. In all, three were founded, viz: San José de Guada-

* A Chino is the off-spring of a Salta Atras and an Indian woman. A Salta Atras is the off-spring of white parents having a trace of Negro blood—whether Moorish or other crossing. (Chas. F. Lummis.)

† The colonists of Branciforte and those of Los Angeles were paid \$116. per year for two years and \$66. for the next three years, besides the live stock and implements furnished them.

lupe, in 1777, a description of which is given elsewhere,* *La Reina de los Angeles* in 1781, and *La Villa de Branciforte* in 1797. All the other pueblos were grown from mission and presidial settlements.

To encourage the cultivation of the soil the viceroy, as early as 1773, authorized the comandante of California to distribute lands to such persons, either natives or Spanish, as were worthy and would devote themselves to agriculture or stock raising; and later, when discharged soldiers began to apply for land, Governor Fages was authorized to grant tracts of land not exceeding three sitios†—thirteen thousand, three hundred acres—on conditions which included the building of a stone house on each sitio and the keeping of at least two thousand head of live-stock. These conditions were not well regarded and but few grants were applied for before the close of the eighteenth century. Besides, the grants were made subject to the requirements of the missions. Thus a portion of the land granted to the soldier, José Manuel Nieto, by Fages in 1784, was taken from him in 1796, on the demand of the padres of San Gabriel who claimed it for their neophytes; and in 1797, when the mission of San Fernando was established, Los Encinos, the rancho of Francisco Reyes, was taken from him for the use of the friars.

Each governor of California endeavored to overcome the backwardness of the province in respect

* Note 22.

† Sitio: one square league—4438.68 acres.

to population, and between 1792 and 1794, a number of artisans were imported to instruct the inhabitants in various trades. They were brought under contract for four and five years and every effort was made to induce them to remain, but most of them returned to Mexico. The friars received the benefit and their neophytes were taught the trades of mason, carpenter, tanner, weaver, shoemaker, etc.

During the last decade of the century Mexico began sending her convicts to California. This undesirable class of settlers was unwelcome and the Californians bitterly resented the action of the Mexican authorities. Their protests were unheeded and the convicts continued to come, though never in large numbers and I do not find that they made much impression upon the character of the population. Under the rule of Borica, 1794-1800, an attempt was made to import young marriageable women as wives for the settlers, especially for the convict settlers, as the padres objected to the convicts marrying the native women. Later the governor asks that one hundred young, healthy women be sent him for wives for the pobladores. These women did not come, but there were sent some small shipments of foundlings, both boys and girls, who were distributed among the families of the different presidios.

The colonization of California was very slow and in 1790, the only year in which I have a full *padron* of the territory, the entire population, not counting aborigines, was but 989 souls.

Why was it that in a country so blessed as California with a fertile soil, an agreeable climate, and all the conditions that go to make life easy and comfortable, the efforts to colonize it should meet with such difficulty? We find two obstacles to success: first, the prohibition of trade with the ships on the coast deprived the settlers of a market for their product, and, second, it was not to the interest of the missions to promote colonization. By the end of the century Spain had established in California eighteen missions, each without settlers, but each intending to become a pueblo, and each entitled under the law of Philip II, to four leagues of land. In addition to the missions were the three pueblos of Spaniards referred to, containing an aggregate of less than three hundred souls. Emigrants would not come. The pay and the rations offered only attracted the worthless and indolent. The mission scheme had failed. The vast missionary establishments absorbed the lands, business, and capital of the country and all interests were held under ecclesiastical sway; there was no individual enterprise and immigration was discouraged. The power of the padres was such that they not only dictated the religious policy of the country but even interfered with its civil management. All proposed grants of land were submitted to them and they virtually dictated where and to whom lands should be given.* In 1794, Colonel Costansó, the engineer

* Colton: *Three years in California*, 440. Forbes: *Hist. of Cal.*, 133, 209.

officer who, as ensign, had accompanied Portolá on his famous march to Monterey, was sent to California to investigate conditions and ascertain the reason for the lack of progress in the settlement of the country. His report condemned the mission plan so far as the colonization of the country was concerned. He said that missions many years old still remained in charge of friars and presidial guards; there were no ship owners on the Pacific coast; no trade in the South Sea and therefore no revenue; a lack of population, and the province was a great expense to the crown. There were no inducements to the farmer and stock-raiser, for no trade was permitted with either foreign or Spanish ships, but only with the regular transports. He said that settlers of Spanish blood should have been mingled with the natives from the beginning, and that every ship should bring a number of families supplied with proper outfit.

California was divided into four presidial districts. The military establishment, at the end of the eighteenth century, consisted of a lieutenant-colonel, who was the governor, four lieutenants, four ensigns, one surgeon, six sergeants, sixteen corporals, and two hundred and eighty-two privates. This small force had to guard a coast line of six hundred miles, four presidios, three pueblos, and eighteen missions. The territory included within the jurisdiction of these missionary settlements was never definitely settled and very seldom even defined. Some bound-

ary lines were usually recognized, but about all that is certain in this respect seems to be that the jurisdiction of the missions extended from one mission to another so that no portion of the coast country could be said not to be included in some one of them. The designs of the government of Spain were often interfered with by the religious power which it fostered. On the 4th of January, 1813, Spain passed a law expressly requiring that all vacant lands and all lands for municipal uses in her provinces beyond the sea, except commons necessary for villages, should be reduced to private ownership; and that in disposing of lands the settlers in the towns should be preferred over others. On the 13th of September, 1813, Spain passed another law expressly requiring that all her settlements beyond the sea should be taken from the control of the priests wherever they had been for ten years under their charge; that the missionary priests should immediately cease from the government and administration of the property of those Indians, leaving it to them to dispose of it through the medium of their *ayuntamientos*,* and requiring the superior political authority to name the most intelligent among the Indians to direct the disposition; and also again requiring that the lands be distributed and reduced to private property con-

* *Ayuntamiento*: town council. It was composed of one *alcalde*, two *regidores* (councilmen) and a *sindico-procurador* (city attorney). For a large town, the number of *alcaldes* and *regidores* was increased.

formably to the law of January 4th. From this will be seen the intentions of Spain in regard to the missions. At the date of the decrees Ferdinand VII was a prisoner in Paris in the hands of Napoleon; upon his release, on the 22d of August, 1814, he repudiated these, with other acts of the Spanish *córtes*; but they were all revived by the revolution of 1819, and this one was in force when on the 27th of September, 1821, Mexico achieved her independence.

Of all the aborigines of America, the Indians of California were perhaps the least capable of exercising the rights and privileges of citizenship, and the education they received from the friars was not of a nature to prepare them for such a responsibility. Nevertheless, Mexican independence was promptly followed by an order to liberate all pueblo Indians of good character and grant to them lands for their maintenance. It was ordered that the salaries paid the missionary priests (\$400 per annum) should be stopped; that the mission settlements should be formed into pueblos with a curate for each; that the country should support its own priests, and that liberal donations of lands should be made to the pueblo Indians, who were supposed to be able to maintain themselves. But the Indians for the most part were mere slaves. The order for their sudden liberation proved disastrous and had to be modified. The *reglamento* of November 21, 1828, provided that the lands occupied by the mis-

sions should not be colonized at present. Some provision had to be first made for the Indians. This was a stay of proceedings and the rule of the friars continued. On the 17th of August, 1833, the Mexican congress passed a law on the basis of the Spanish law of January 4, 1813, to force the mission settlements from the control of the priests, to organize local civil governments, and to grant the lands they occupied to settlers. This act was supplemented by another, November 4th, of the same year, authorizing the government to transport emigrants from Mexico to settle upon these mission lands of Alta California. On the 16th of April, 1834, another law on the same subject was passed requiring all the missions in the republic to be secularized.

In all these acts of the Mexican congress for granting lots to settlers, the rights of the Indians were to be respected. The territorial *diputacion* of California declared on October 21, 1834, that all the property, real and personal, of the missions belonged to the converted or pueblo Indians, and that they were its only owners. General José Figueroa, the able and upright governor of California, mindful of the rights of the pueblo Indians who had created the wealth of the missions, published on the 9th of August, 1834, a reglamento giving effect to the law of 1833, to begin the conversion to the missions into pueblos. He decreed that to the head of each family, and to every man over twenty-one years of age whether the head of a family or not, should be given a lot

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of land, irrigable or otherwise, not more than four hundred nor less than one hundred varas square, from the common land of the missions; and in community, a sufficient quantity of land should be allotted to them for pasturage and for watering their cattle; that *ejidos* (common lands) should be assigned each pueblo and, when convenient, *propios** also; that they should receive one-half of all self-moving property (live-stock), and one-half or less of all chattels, while instruments and seeds were to be divided among them in proportion to their needs. The rest of the property was to be retained by the government for the support of the churches, schools, etc., and the cost of administration of the missions.

* *Propios*, were such lands, houses, and other properties of pueblos and cities as were rented and the proceeds thereof applied in the payment of municipal expenses.

CHAPTER VIII.
SECULARIZATION

THE purpose for which the missions were created has been shown in the preceding pages. That the missionary establishments were to be retired when their work was done has also been made clear. There was no misunderstanding of the government's intentions in this respect, least of all on the part of the missionary priests, yet in many instances they allowed the impression to prevail that they were cruelly wronged.

The secularization of the missions has been denounced in unmeasured terms. It has been represented as an outrage against the thirty thousand Christianized Indians who enjoyed the beneficence and created the wealth of the missions of California, against the good and devoted men who with such wisdom, sagacity, and self-sacrifice reared those wonderful institutions in the wilderness; against the church, and against the peace and welfare of the province. The Franciscan monks were generally driven out, says De Mofras, but the parish priests did not arrive, so that the neophytes were generally left without teachers or protectors, and the services for the most part ceased. The mayor-domos appointed to take charge of the missions were often brutal and illiterate persons—sometimes those who had been menial servants; so that frequently the missionary was at the mercy of one of his former herdsmen. The few missionaries who remained were insulted, thwarted, stinted in their allowance,

and, in some instances, died of starvation while ministering at the altar.* Wilkes, who found little to commend in California, said that with the change of rulers anarchy and confusion began to reign, that the want of authority was everywhere felt, that some of the missions were deserted, the property dissipated and the Indians turned out to seek their native wilds. Secularization had brought ruin to the missions and that the property that was still left became a prey to the rapacity of the governor, the needy officers, and the administrador.† The Indians complained of the fact that they had endured outrages from the whites who had deprived them of the cattle which had been given them, and pastured their own flocks upon the small patches of ground which had been assigned to them for cultivation and that the civil authorities themselves had pillaged them. They returned therefore to their native tribes among the tulares whence they issued in raids upon the missions and settlements sweeping off herds of cattle and horses, and sometimes carrying into captivity the wives and daughters of the whites. These latter retaliated by excursions into the Indian country, in which whole villages were devoted to slaughter, rapine, and burning, by the wild and indiscriminate fury of revenge.‡ Edwin Bryant says: "The administrators have made them-

* De Mofras: *Exploration*, i, pp. 273, 303, 342, 380-390, 421.

† Wilkes: *Exploring Expedition* v, 162, 168.

‡ De Mofras i, 347, 414: Wilkes, *Exp. Expedition* v, 173, 174.

selves and those by whom they were appointed, rich upon the spoils of the missions."* Alfred Robinson too, who, whatever may have been his training in his New England home, was a faithful friend of the church in California, loses no opportunity to score the government and the administrators of the missions.

Let us consider for a moment how much of this censure is deserved. Bryant was here for a few months only, long after the secularization of the missions was accomplished. De Mofras' observation was superficial, and while he wrote copiously of the secularization his information was largely hearsay. Wilkes was here in the same year, 1841, and his information on this point was from the same source as that of De Mofras.²⁵ Alfred Robinson was in California throughout most of the period of secularization and his opportunities for observation were excellent, but his statements are so general that little can be done with them by way of analysis.

Most of the writers of the period following the secularization assume that the missions, with their great holdings of real and personal property, belonged to the church or that the property belonged to the missionary establishments as corporations. Such however was not the case. The missions belonged to the government and were established under its direction. The missions of Lower California established by the Jesuits were, in 1768, taken from them

* Bryant; *What I saw in California*, 444.

by order of the king and placed in the custody of the Franciscans. Later, when the establishment of a chain of missions in Alta California was determined, the Franciscans relinquished the missions of Lower California to the Dominicans, who felt that their order had not received proper consideration, and confined themselves to the new establishments of Alta California. Moreover, the government control and direction of the missions is seen in all the orders and regulations concerning them. It was the duty of the governor to choose their sites, direct the construction and arrangement of their edifices, and to lay out their streets regularly, as, the viceroy advised, a mission may become a pueblo and the pueblo grow into a great city. Not only this, but the governor had a right to reduce their possessions by grants of land to Indians and to settlers (*pobladores*) within their so-called boundaries, and could change a mission into a pueblo and subject it to the same laws that governed other pueblos. Bucaréli,²⁶ viceroy of New Spain, in his letter of instructions to the comandante of the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey, dated August 17, 1773, said: "When it becomes expedient to change any mission into a pueblo, the comandante will proceed to reduce it to the civil and economical government, which, according to the laws, is observed in the other pueblos of this kingdom, giving it a name, and declaring for its patron the saint under whose auspices and vener-

able protection the mission was founded."* Thus at the very foundation of these California establishments did Spain announce the end and complete fulfilment of all missions.

The change by which the monastic monopoly was to be broken up involved no wrong to the church, the Franciscan order, or to the Indians. Figueroa's regulations by which the policy and the law were to be carried out were wise and humane, but it cannot be denied that sixty-five years of tutelage had left the Indian no more fitted to assume the responsibilities of citizenship than it found him. Colonization was obliged to wait upon secularization, and there could be no political organization where there was no population. The missions occupied all California, and while all the land was not needed, and ought not to be distributed among the Indians, the government could not undertake to make grants of national lands until the requirements of the Indians were ascertained and provided for. Secularization would accomplish this and the property of the government and that of the Indians would be separated when the missions became pueblos.

The great wealth of the missions could not fail to excite the avarice of those whose official position gave opportunity for plunder. Already the looting had begun and in some instances a decline in the prosperity of the missions had been noticed before the process of secularization was under way. Under

* H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 17, 31st Cong., 1st Session 1850, p. 133-4.

the influence of Echeandía, governor from 1825 to 1831, assisted by his inspector-general, José María Padrés, a spirit of revolt had been incited among the neophytes and a general feeling of unrest prevailed. In 1833 a scheme for the colonization of California was organized in the city of Mexico which received the aid and support of the Federal government. So far as the planting of a colony in California was concerned the scheme was apparently legitimate. But the fact that its chief promoter was José María Padrés, the person mainly responsible for the revolt of the neophytes, caused a feeling of uneasiness among the missions. Associated with Padrés was José María Híjar, a man of wealth and position. Híjar was appointed governor of California and director of colonization, and Figueroa was directed to deliver to him the missions. With two hundred and fifty colonists Híjar and Padrés, who had been appointed sub-director, sailed from San Blas in August, 1834, in two ships, and after a rough voyage landed, one at San Diego and the other at Monterey. Meanwhile a change of administration in Mexico had retired the friends of the scheme from office; the appointment of Híjar was revoked and a special courier was sent express to Governor Figueroa forbidding him to deliver the missions to Híjar and his associates. These instructions reached Monterey in advance of Híjar and confronted him when he presented his orders to the governor. He tried to bribe Figueroa to deliver him the missions but in this he failed, and

charges of conspiracy being preferred against him and his associates, they were returned to Mexico to answer. The unfortunate colonists, deprived of the support of their leaders, were after a period of distress merged in the settlers of the northern missions. Among them all there was not one of the class California stood most in need of, agriculturists.

Some of the missionary fathers regarded secularization as an outrage upon themselves and their neophytes and, when convinced that it could not be averted, ceased to care for the buildings, vineyards, and gardens, as in former times, and attempted to realize in ready money as large an amount as possible. Information concerning the Híjar-Padrés company was circulated throughout the missions and the priests resolved to defeat the scheme if possible. At many of the establishments orders were given for the immediate slaughter of their cattle, and contracts were made with individuals to kill them and divide the proceeds with the missions. Thousands of cattle were slain for their hides only, while their carcasses remained to rot on the plains, and in this way a vast amount of tallow and beef was entirely lost. The rascally contractors who were enriching themselves so easily, were not satisfied with their legitimate profit, but secretly appropriated to themselves two hides for one given to the missions. A wanton spirit of destruction seemed to possess them, co-equal with their desire for plunder, and they continued to ravage and lay waste. In like manner other

interests of the establishments were neglected by the missionaries and the missions gradually fell to decay.*

• The curates that were to be appointed to the newly created parishes never came, and the friars remained to serve as curates, being relieved of temporal management but coöperating with the mayor-domos in supervising the labors and conduct of the Indians. Many of the friars accepted the situation and did the best they could, striving to reconcile discordant elements and retain their influence over the neophytes; others, soured and disappointed, retired sullenly to the habitations assigned them by law and mechanically performed the duties of parish priests when applied to; others were belligerent, quarreled with everybody, and protested against everything on every possible occasion.†

The secularization proceeded. Lands were assigned to the neophytes who also received a portion of the mission property consisting of cattle, horses, sheep, grain, implements, etc. It was forbidden to buy from them, but this precaution amounted to nothing, and in about a year the Indians had either sold or gambled away what they had not eaten or drunk. After a while some died and the rest dispersed, abandoning their lands which eventually fell into the hands of rancheros under grants from the government.‡

* Robinson: *Life in California*, 168-9.

† Bancroft: *Hist. Cal.* iv, 42, 51.

‡ Id. iv, 230.

In the midst of the work the honest and humane Figueroa died, mind and body worn out by the repeated attacks of the missionaries, the representations of the Indians, and the disordered state of the country. He was mourned by the people and proclaimed by the most excellent diputacion "Bienhechor del territorio de la Alta California" (Benefactor of the territory of Alta California). Then followed a period of revolution, the reign of four governors of California, and the proclamation of the diputacion of November 7, 1836, declaring that Alta California was independent of Mexico and a free and governing state, under the governorship of Juan Bautista Alvarado, with Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, raised from the rank of lieutenant to colonel of cavalry, comandante-general, and José Castro, president of the diputacion.

The evils that befell the missions in the process of secularization have been largely attributed to the administration of Alvarado, but a careful study of the evidence will not justify the censure he has received. It must be remembered that the period of his administration, 1836-1842, was one of revolution, strife, and political unrest. The north was divided against the south; the province was filled with warring factions, and among them, engaged first with one party then with another, were bands of armed foreigners, chiefly Americans. In spite of the condition of the country Alvarado made earnest efforts to supervise the work of secularization and

check the spoliation of the missions. He appointed William E. P. Hartnell, an Englishman of high standing and intelligence, fifteen years a resident of California, inspector and visitador of the missions. Hartnell visited each mission and made a most conscientious examination of its affairs, and on his report the governor made a number of changes in the administration looking to a betterment of the service.

If Alvarado had had an intelligent and industrious body of neophytes to organize into self-governing pueblos, the hearty coöperation of the missionaries, and a community free from sectional strife, the story might have been different. There is no evidence that he profited personally through the secularization and he passed the later years of his life in modest retirement on the rancho his wife inherited from her father.

The secularization of the missions opened up California to settlement. In 1830 there were in the entire province not more than fifty ranchos in private possession. In 1846, above seven hundred land grants had been made by the authorities. Many of these, it is true, had been distributed among the friends of the administration, and Alvarado also loaned mission stock to rancheros to be returned in kind later, though it does not appear what proportion, if any, of this property was returned to the government. The policy of the government towards foreigners was liberal and many of them obtained valuable tracts of land.

Altogether the secularization of the missions was of the greatest benefit to California, notwithstanding the evils which accompanied it. Alfred Robinson, true friend of the church as he was, says: "To secure lands for farming purposes, it was, in former years, necessary to get the written consent of the missionaries under whose control they were, ere the government could give legitimate possession, therefore their acquisition depended entirely upon the good will of the friars. It may be justly supposed that by this restriction the advancement of California was rather retarded. So it was, for the immigrant was placed at the mercy of a prejudiced missionary who might be averse to anything like secular improvement; for although these religionists were generally possessed of generous feelings, still, many of them were extremely jealous of an infringement upon the interests of their institutions. * * * At first the change (secularization) was considered disastrous to the prosperity of California, and the wanton destruction of property which followed seemed to warrant the conclusion; but the result, however, proved quite the contrary. Individual enterprise which succeeded has placed the country in a more flourishing condition, and the wealth instead of being confined to the monastic institutions as before, has been distributed among the people."*

The era of the missions was closed, and the rancheros with their flocks and herds rivaled the patriarchs.

* Robinson: *Life in California*, 224-5.

CHAPTER IX.
THE GOLDEN AGE

IN 1834 the California of the Spaniards had as yet undergone no great change. Figueroa, then administering the affairs of the country, found himself in the midst of an era of innovations—at the end of the spiritual dominion of the missionary fathers and the beginning of the attempt to introduce a new civilization. “From 1769,” says Edmond Randolph,* “when Father Junípero Serra and the body of missionary priests who followed him first reached the spot where they founded San Diego, sixty-five years had elapsed of a tranquillity seldom witnessed on this earth.” The cattle upon the rich pasture multiplied and the missions grew in wealth and importance. Shrewd traders too were the good padres, and the Boston ships trading on the coast soon learned to respect the business ability of the priests. To the Indians they were, as a rule, kind and gentle, teaching them the Christian religion, accustoming them to a regular life, and inuring them to labor. They were well qualified for their work and many of them were highly cultivated men—soldiers, engineers, artists, lawyers, and physicians before they became Franciscans. Up to the year 1833 they were all from the College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico, but in that year the seven missions north of San Carlos de Monterey were given in charge of the priests of the college of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. The Zacatecans were, as a rule, inferior to the Fernandinos and less successful in their administration.

* Argument: *Hart vs. Burnett et al.* Sup. Court of California, 1859.

The Franciscan monks generally treated the neophyte Indians with paternal kindness and did not scorn to labor with them in the field, the brickyard, the forge, and the mill. "When we view the vast constructions of the mission buildings, including the churches, the refectories, the dormitories, and the granaries, sometimes constructed with huge timbers brought many miles on the shoulders of the Indians, it cannot be denied that the missionary fathers had the wisdom, sagacity, and patience to bring their neophyte pupils far forward on the road from barbarism to civilization and that these Indians were not destitute of taste and capacity."* A complete chain of missions had been established from San Diego to San Francisco, and thence across the straits to San Rafael and Sonoma; the scheme being to plant the missions throughout the whole length of the coast, says Father Palou, so that the Indians might fall within the reach, if not of one, then of another of these establishments, and thus all be drawn into the apostolic net.

The Indians received no pay but were fed and clothed: each Indian receiving one blanket a year, and if he wore it out, another; each received also a loin cloth (taparrabo) and a serge blouse. Every woman got serge for a petticoat. They were flogged for failure to do the work assigned to them, for non-attendance at mass, and for other causes, and at times the discipline was so severe that the neo-

* Dwinelle: *Colonial Hist.* p. 84.

phytes ran away and soldiers had to be sent to capture and bring them back. But on the whole, they were fairly well treated and were attached to the priests. The Spaniards, having a wholesome dread of mounted Indians born of encounters with the Apaches, permitted no Indians to ride except those employed as vaqueros.

Notwithstanding the claims of the missionaries to all the land from one mission to another, there were, in 1830, about fifty ranchos in possession of private individuals. There were a number of ranchos in the south and along the coast, while around the bay of San Francisco the Vallejos, Argüellos, Castros, Peraltas, Estudillos, and other historic families of California occupied ranchos which, according to Davis,* supported some two hundred thousand cattle, fifty thousand horses, and many thousand sheep. These lands had been granted to the soldiers of Portolá, Rivera, and Anza, and their descendants, and California was being slowly populated by the natural increase from the families of the garrisons. The families of the soldiers were so large as to excite the wonder of visitors. General Vallejo had sixteen children; Argüello had thirteen; Carrillo, twelve; José de la Guerra, ten; José Antonio Castro, twenty-two, and so on. Governor Borica, on taking command in 1794, expressed to the engineer Córdero his satisfaction with the society at the capital (Monterey), the fine climate, the abundance of wine of

* Davis: *Sixty Years in California*, 29-32.

the Rhine, of Madeira, and of Oporto, of the good bread, beef, fish, and other good eatables, and says: "But what astonishes one is the general fecundity both of rationals and irrationals" (*pero lo que espanta es la fecundidad general en racionales é irracionales*).^{*} Within the presidio reservation of San Francisco is a spring called El Polin to whose marvelous virtues were attributed the large families of the garrisons.[†] Its existence and peculiar qualities were known to the Indians from a remote period and its fame was spread throughout California.

Among the followers of Portolá in the first expedition were Mariano de la Luz Verdugo and his brother José María and both served for many years in the companies of San Diego and Monterey. Mariano brought from Loreto in Lower California cuttings from the grape vine planted there by the Jesuit fathers. These he planted at the San Diego mission and in a few years the Franciscan fathers were able to make from the fruit of these vines the wine used in the mass. Cuttings were sent to other missions and all the mission vineyards were planted from these

^{*} Borica á Córdero: *Prov. State Papers*, M. S. XXI, 208-9, Academy of Pacific Coast History.

[†] "It gave very good water, and experience afterwards demonstrated that it was excellent and of miraculous qualities. In proof of my assertion I appeal to the families of Miramontes, Martinez, Sanchez, Soto, Briones, and others; all of whom several times had twins; and public opinion, not without reason, attributed these salutary effects to the virtues of the water of El Polin, which still exists." Vallejo: *Discurso Historico*, San Francisco Centenary, Oct. 8, 1876, MS. Academy of Pacific Coast History (Bancroft Collection).

vines of San Diego. This is the origin in California of the famous Mission grape.*

Reference has been made in the previous chapter to the convicts sent to California by the home government. This was a cause of hatred towards Mexico; but neither the convicts nor the few settlers she sent appear to have made much impression on the country; the descendants of the soldiers were the ruling class.

It has sometimes been held and believed that the founders of the great California families were men of rank and birth (*sangre azul*). This is not the case. With but few exceptions they were men of humble origin and station. The founders of the Alvarado, Argüello, Arellanes, Castro, Carrillo, Estudillo, Ortega, Pico, Peralta, Vallejo, and Yorba families, and many others hardly less known, were private soldiers, and only four of the eleven named reached the commission grade. But these families were among the most prominent in California and furnished six governors to the province.

The Californians were a fine handsome race. The men were tall, robust, and well made; the women were beautiful. "Particularly is the *hijo del país*†

* Taylor: *Fragments and Scraps*, MS. p. 87, Statement of Don Anastacio Carrillo (Bancroft Collection).

Hayes, in *Emigrant Notes*, MS. p. 150, says: "The grape cultivated at the missions of California is the same as that of the Island of Madeira—according to Maj. George H. Ringold, an accomplished officer of the U. S. Army who is stationed here" (San Diego). (Bancroft Collection.)

† Native of the country.

well-formed, graceful in his movements, and athletic. Spending his life in manly pursuits, roaming his native hills, breathing the pure air of the Pacific, the horse his companion, the lasso his weapon, he carries about him and into all life's commonplaces the chivalrous bearing of the cavaliers of old Spain. His courage no one will question who has seen him face a herd of wild cattle, or lasso a grizzly, or mount an unbroken horse, or fix his unflinching gaze upon the muzzle of a pistol pointed at his breast. He is by nature kind and frank. The treatment he received at the hand of hard featured, ill-mannered, grasping, and unprincipled strangers taught him to be suspicious; but his confidence once gained, he is yours, wholly and forever."* Costansó, an officer of the regular army, said of the presidial soldiers of California, "It is not too much to say that they are the best horsemen in the world and among the best soldiers who eat the bread of the king."† The defeat of the veterans of the "Army of the West," under General Kearny, by the caballeros of Andrés Pico on the field of San Pascual, and that of Mervine by Carrillo, at San Pedro, proves that the descendants of the soldiers of Portolá and Anza were not lacking in either skill or courage. Davis says: "The Vallejos; the Bernal's; the Berreyesas, of whom Don José Santos was particularly noble looking and intelligent; the Estradas, half-brothers of Alvarado,

* Bancroft: *California Pastoral*, p. 276.

† *Diario Historico*. MS. original in Sutro library.

were all fine looking; also the Santa Cruz Castros, three or four brothers; the De la Guerras; Don Antonio María Lugo; Don Teodoro Arrellanes; Don Tomás Yorba and his brothers; splendid looking, proud and dignified in address and manners, the cream of the country. The Sepúlvedas of Los Angeles were also fine specimens. The Argüellos, sons of the prefect (Santiago) were finely formed men; Doña Modesta Castro, wife of General Castro, was beautiful and queenly in her appearance and bearing. The wife of David Spence, sister of Prefect Estrada, was of medium size, with fine figure and beautiful, transparent complexion. The sisters of General Vallejo: Mrs. Cooper and Mrs. Leese, were strikingly beautiful.”*

Bartlett,† writing from Monterey in 1852, says: “Many officers of the United States army have married in California and from what I have heard here and at other places, others intend to follow their example. The young señoritas certainly possess many attractions; and although shut up in this secluded part of the world, without the advantages of good education or of intercourse with refined society, they need not fear a comparison with our own ladies. In deportment they are exceedingly gentle and ladylike with all the natural grace and dignity which belong to the Castillian nation. Their complexion is generally as fair as the Anglo-Saxon,

* Davis: *Sixty Years in California*, 176, 201.

† Bartlett: *Narrative*, p. 73, 74.

particularly along the seacoast, with large black eyes and hair, * * * and they are as slender and delicate in form as those of our Atlantic states. I was struck, too, with the elegance and purity of their language, which presented a marked contrast with the corrupt dialect spoken in Mexico." Even Sir George Simpson, who could see little to commend either in California or in the Californians was finally overcome and surrendered a captive to grace and beauty: "Of the women, with their witchery of manner," he writes, "it is not easy, or rather it is not possible for a stranger to speak with impartiality * * * of those who, in every look, tone, and gesture, have apparently no other end in view than the pleasure of pleasing us. With regard, however, to their physical charms, as distinguished from the adventitious accomplishments of education, it is difficult, even for a willing pen, to exaggerate. Independently of feeling or motion, their sparkling eyes and glossy hair are in themselves sufficient to negative the idea of tameness or insipidity; while their sylph-like forms evolve fresh graces at every step, and their eloquent features eclipse their own inherent comeliness by the higher beauty of expression. Though doubtless fully conscious of their attractions, yet the women of California, to their credit be it spoken, do not 'before their mirrors count the time,' being, on the contrary by far the most industrious half of the population. In California, such a thing as a white servant is absolutely

unknown, inasmuch as neither man nor woman will barter freedom in a country where provisions are actually a drug and clothes almost a superfluity."^{*} The men he describes as tall and handsome, most showily and elaborately dressed and mounted.

The daughters of José Bandini were famous for their beauty. Bandini was the son of a trader who came from Lima in 1819 and settled in San Diego. He had six lovely daughters, four of whom married Americans. The heroine of Bret Harte's beautiful poem, "Concepcion Argüello," was the daughter of José Darío Argüello, comandante of San Francisco. How Doña Concepcion's black eyes won the heart of the chamberlain of the tsar has often been told; it is the most famous romance of California.¹⁷

The daughters of José de la Guerra were very beautiful. Teresa married W. E. P. Hartnell, an English merchant at Monterey; Angustias married Jimeno, secretary of state, and after his death, Dr. J. L. Ord, United States army; and Ana María married Alfred Robinson. Dana, who attended Robinson's marriage in Santa Barbara in 1836, gives a most delightful picture of the handsome and sprightly Doña Angustias, and in his "Twenty-four years after" says: "'Doña Angustias' he (Captain Wilson) said, 'I had made famous by my praises of her beauty and dancing and I should have from her a royal reception.' She had been a widow and had remarried since and had a daughter as handsome as

^{*} Simpson: *Narrative*, p. 280-1.

herself. * * * In due time I paid my respects to Doña Angustias, and notwithstanding what Wilson had told me I could scarcely believe that after twenty-four years there would still be so much of the enchanting woman about her. She thanked me for the kind, and as she called them, greatly exaggerated compliments I have paid her; and her daughter told me that all travelers who came to Santa Barbara called to see her mother, and that she, herself, never expected to live long enough to be a belle."* Bayard Taylor, writing from Monterey in 1849, says of this same lady: "The most favorite resort of the Americans is that (house) of Doña Angustias Ximeno, the sister of Don Pablo de la Guerra.† This lady whose active charity in aiding the sick and distressed has won her the enduring gratitude of many and the esteem of all, has made her house the home of every American officer who visits Monterey. With a rare liberality she has given up a great part of it to their use, when it is impossible for them to procure quarters, and they have always been welcome guests at her table. She is a woman whose nobility of character, native vigor, and activity of intellect, and above all, whose instinctive refinement and winning grace of manner would have given her a complete supremacy in society, had her lot been cast in Europe, or in the United States. During the session of the convention,‡ her house was

* Dana: *Two Years Before the Mast*. Reprint, 1895. He revisited California in 1859.

† She was then a widow, and about thirty-five years old.

‡ The Constitutional Convention, 1849.

the favorite resort of all the leading members, both American and Californian. She was thoroughly versed in Spanish literature, as well as the works of Scott and Cooper, through translations, and I have frequently been surprised at the justness and elegance of her remarks on various authors. She possessed, moreover, all those bold and daring qualities which are so fascinating in a woman when softened and made graceful by true feminine delicacy. She was a splendid horsewoman, and had even considerable skill in throwing the lariat.”*

In the little company of *soldados de cuera* that followed Portolá to Monterey, were two brothers, Guillermo and Mariano Carrillo, and their nephew, José Raimundo Carrillo. Guillermo died, a sergeant, in 1782, and Mariano, an ensign, the same year. Neither left any children. José Raimundo was twenty-three years old when he joined the expedition. For twenty-six years he served as private and non-commissioned officer in the presidios of San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego, and in 1795, received his commission as ensign. He served until his death in 1809, as ensign, lieutenant, and captain, becoming, in turn comandante of Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. His wife was a daughter of the patriarch de Lugo,† to whom he was married at San Carlos by Junípero Serra. He

* Bayard Taylor: *El Dorado*, p. 141-2.

† Another daughter married Ignacio Vallejo and was mother of General Vallejo.

was the founder of what may perhaps, by reason of the number and prominence of its members, be considered the leading family of California. His son Cárlos Antonio became governor of California. Don Cárlos had a number of handsome daughters one of whom married William G. Dana; one married Thomas W. Robbins; one Alpheus B. Thompson; one John Coffin Jones; one Lewis T. Burton, and one Thomas W. Doak, all Americans. Don Raimundo's sons were men of prominence who took an active part in the affairs of the province and married into the best families. They were distinguished for their courtly manners and dignified and magnificent presence. Each was over six feet tall and over two hundred pounds in weight. Joaquin Carrillo had five beautiful daughters one of whom married Henry D. Fitch and was the heroine of another California romance; one married General Vallejo, who named the town of Benicia for her, one married his brother, Salvador, one married Ramuldo Pacheco, and after his death Captain John Wilson and was the Ramona of R. H. Dana's enthusiasm, and one married Victor Castro. Of Ramona, Sir George Simpson writes: "Then returning to Captain Wilson's house (at Santa Barbara) we had the pleasure of being introduced to Mrs. Wilson whom we already knew by name as a sister of Señora Vallejo and whom we now found to be one of the prettiest and most agreeable women that we have ever met with either here or

elsewhere.”* Lieutenant Martinez, comandante of San Francisco, had nine lovely daughters, one of whom married Captain W. A. Richardson, for whom Richardson’s bay was named, one married William S. Hinckley, alcalde of San Francisco, and one, Dr. Samuel Tennant.

These personal descriptions of contemporary writers will enable the reader to realize more fully than he could otherwise do the character of the people of California.

Alfred Robinson† gives a description of a passing visit at the Rancho Santiago de Santa Ana in 1830. “The proprietor, Don Tomás Yorba, a tall, lean, personage, dressed in all the extravagance of his country’s costume, received us at the door of his house. He came towards us, embraced Gale and his *compadre*,‡ Don Manuel, took me cordially by the hand, and invited us to enter. Arrangements were soon made for dinner, which, notwithstanding the haste with which it was served, did much credit to the provider, as did our appetites to its excellent qualities.

“Don Tomás and friend Gale then commencing a business conversation, I got up from the table and retreated to the corridor, where I could study, unob-

* Simpson: *Narrative*, p. 376.

† Robinson: *Life in California*, p. 42-3.

‡ The term *compadre* implies more than the relationship of friend or benefactor. It denotes a closer association, a somewhat sacred relationship, as that of godfather and godmother, not only in its relationship to the child, but to each other.

served, the character and appearance of our host. Upon his head he wore a black silk handkerchief, the four corners of which hung down his neck behind. An embroidered shirt, a cravat of white jaconet tastefully tied, a blue damask vest, short clothes of crimson velvet, a bright green cloth jacket, with large silver buttons, and shoes of embroidered deer skin, comprised his dress. I was afterwards informed by Don Manuel, that on some occasions such as some particular feast day or festival his entire display often exceeded in value a thousand dollars."

Davis* describes the California costume: Short breeches extending to the knee, ornamented with gold or silver lace at the bottom, with *botas* (leggings) below made of fine soft deer skin, well tanned and finished, richly colored and stamped with beautiful devices and tied at the knee with a silk cord wound two or three times around the leg with gold or silver tassels hanging below the knee; long vest with filagree buttons of gold or silver, although men of ordinary means had them of brass; a jacket, generally of dark blue cloth, also adorned with filagree buttons. Over that was the serape or poncho, made in Mexico and costing from twenty to one hundred dollars, according to the quality of the cloth and the richness of the ornamentation. The serape and poncho were made in the same way as to size and cut, the former of coarser texture than the latter and of a variety of colors and patterns, while the poncho was

* Davis: *Sixty Years in California*, p. 84.

of dark blue or black cloth of finer quality, generally of broadcloth. The serape was always plain while the poncho was heavily trimmed with gold or silver fringe around the edges and a little below the collar around the shoulders. Hat from Mexico or Peru, generally stiff, the finer quality, soft, of vicuna—a kind of beaver skin—and cost forty dollars. Saddle, silver mounted; bridle, heavily mounted with silver; reins of select hair of horses' mane with links of silver at a distance of every foot; spurs inlaid with gold or silver. The whole outfit sometimes costing several thousand dollars. Simpson, in 1842, describes the men as wearing the pantaloons, split on the outside from the hip to the foot, with a row of buttons on either edge of the opening which is laced together nearly down to the knee; underneath a full pair of linen drawers and a boot of untanned deerskin, and a silk scarf around the waist. The women wore gowns of silk, crape, calico, etc., short sleeves and loose waist without corset; shoes of kid or satin, sashes, or belts of bright colors, and almost always a necklace and earrings. They wore no bonnets, the hair hanging loose or in long braids. Married women did the hair up on a high comb. Over the head a mantilla was thrown, drawn close around the face when out of doors. In the house they wore a small scarf or neckerchief and on top of the head a band with a star or other ornament in front.

All travelers unite in the statement that the Californians were vastly superior to the Mexicans. Bay-

and Taylor says they had larger frames, stronger muscles, and a fresh ruddy complexion, entirely different from the sallow skins of the *tierra caliente*, or the swarthy features of those Bedouins of the West, the Sonorians. One reason for this difference was the fact that the Californians were of purer blood. Father Lasuen, president of the missions, testifies that from the beginning, in 1769, to the end of the century, but twenty-nine Spaniards had married native women. While there was more or less mixture among the soldiers who came with the first expeditions, the race improved in California. The sons of soldiers married soldiers' daughters. The cool moist air of the coast gave them fresh complexions; the habit of life in the open air with its accompanying exercise gave them vigorous frames and elastic muscles. As all things grow and improve in California; so it is with the people. The men become larger and stronger, the women more beautiful. The soldiers who established the presidios and missions were not, as a rule, large men, yet they developed in California a race that in proportions and symmetry was fair to look upon. They were also a happy and contented people. Incivility was unknown. They were always ready to reply to a question and answered in the politest manner. The poorest vaquero would salute the traveler politely, and a favor was always granted with an air of courtesy and grace that was very pleasing. Implicit obedience and profound respect were shown parents by children,

even after they were grown up. A son, though himself the head of a family, never presumed to sit, smoke, or remain covered in the presence of his father; nor did the daughter, whether married or unmarried, enter into great familiarity with the mother. With these exceptions, the Californians gave little regard to the restraints of etiquette, and, generally speaking, all classes mingled together on a footing of equality. Honest and kindly, the Californian's word was as good as his bond. Indeed bonds and notes of hand were entirely unknown among them. The trading ships would sell goods along the coast and returning in twelve or eighteen months would receive in hides and tallow payment for goods sold the previous year. Don Antonio Aguirre was a prominent merchant of Los Angeles, and owner of the brig Leonidas. His supercargo, a new man, sold a bill of goods and asked for payment or a note of hand. The purchaser, Agustin Machado, was well to do, but could neither read nor write. He looked at the supercargo in astonishment, but finally realizing he was distrusted, plucked one hair from his beard and handing it to the young man, said: "Here! deliver this to Señor Aguirre and tell him it is a hair from the beard of Agustin Machado. It will cover your responsibility. It is a sufficient guaranty." Aguirre was chagrined on hearing that the supercargo had demanded a document from Machado, a man whose word was as good as the best

bond even for the entire ship's cargo.* The old inhabitants maintain that California was a perfect paradise before the foreign immigration set in to corrupt patriarchal customs; then robbery and assassination were unheard of, blasphemy rare, and fraudulent creditors unknown. In 1839 José Antonio Galindo of San Francisco, who in his expediente of 1835 for the Rancho Laguna de la Merced is described by Justice de Haro as an "honest man," appears now to have lapsed into the position of a criminal,† and the same Justice de Haro reports to the governor that the population having become rancheros, there are few remaining in San Francisco to guard him, and as there is no jail the justice asks that Galindo be sent to San José for security. This document illustrates the primitive simplicity of the Golden Age in California in which the cause came always before the effect, and no necessity was found for jails until criminals existed to be restrained of their liberty.‡ "Happy was San Francisco," says Dwinelle, "to whom the 'fact' criminal had not yet suggested the word 'jail'; less happy, but more wise San José, whose experience had already advanced to the word and fact 'prison.'"

Among the light-hearted and easy-tempered Californians the virtue of hospitality knew no bounds. "They literally vie with each other in devoting their

* Bancroft: *California Pastoral*, p. 472.

† He had killed his relative, José Peralta, in a quarrel.

‡ Dwinelle: *Colonial History of the City of San Francisco*, p. 65.

time, their homes, and their means, to the entertainment of strangers."* On arriving at a rancho the traveler was received with joy and the best things were prepared for him. He was pressed to remain as long as he would and when he went on his way horses and servants were furnished to take him to his next stopping place. It was the same with the missions. The padres gladly received and entertained all travelers, setting before them the best of meats, fruits, and native wines, providing them with good beds and on their departure furnishing them with fresh horses and guides, caring for the tired animals of the travelers until the owners came or sent for them. No pay was expected and none was given.

Such was the hospitality and such were the men and women of the Golden Age of California.

* Simpson: *Narrative*, p. 387.



CHAPTER X.

EDUCATION, TRADE, LAND GRANTS

IN the matter of education California was backward. The military rosters of 1782 show that only about one-third of the soldiers could read and write. The officers taught their children and occasionally a soldier of the escolta was taught by a priest to read and write. The padres confined their attentions to the spiritual welfare of the people and took little interest in their education. Borica endeavored during his administration—1794 to 1800—to establish schools, and the first was started in 1794 at the pueblo of San José by the retired sergeant Manuel de Vargas. He was succeeded a year later by the retired ensign Ramon Lasso de la Vega, and Vargas was sent to San Diego to open a school there. In San Francisco the corporal Manuel Boronda taught the children, in Monterey the soldier José Rodrigues, and in Santa Barbara they were taught by José Manuel Toca, a ship's boy from one of the transports. The children were taught the *doctrina cristiana* and to read and write. They learned very little, books were rare, and in the simple life led by the people extensive book-learning was not considered necessary. In 1818 Corporal Miguel Archuleta had a school at Monterey which was attended by Vallejo, Alvarado, Castro, Estrada, Pico, and other well known Californians. Outside of the "three R's" but little was taught and the line of reading was confined mostly to the lives of the saints and martyrs. The bigger boys, however, managed to secure from

the foreign ships many prohibited books which they contrived to prevent falling into the hands of the watchful friars. In 1834 William E. P. Hartnell, an educated man, and Father Patrick Short established on the Hartnell rancho of Patrocino, a *seminario* which for two or three years was attended by the sons of a few prominent families, but the attempt was soon given up.

Governor Sola, during his term, 1815-1822, interested himself in the cause of education and contributed from his private funds for the support of the schools, but the most he could do was to maintain a primary school at each of the four presidios and the two pueblos. Governor Echeandía recommended an appropriation for the employment of teachers, but nothing was done. There was no money to pay teachers and teachers themselves were scarce; the lack of education however, was partly due to apathy on the part of the people themselves. They had but little intellectual ambition, though some of the more noteworthy families contained men of intellect and scholarly attainments. There was no necessity for the soldier to read and write unless he wished to be a corporal, then, if the desire was sufficiently strong, he learned.

California in the eighteenth century had no trade. The garrisons bought from the missions and rancheros such supplies as they required, paying for them by drafts on the royal treasury, and each year sent requisitions to Mexico for articles California could not

supply. Twice a year the government transports brought the supplies and the people had to be content with the goods so furnished. No foreign ships were permitted to trade but the settlers could buy from the transports such articles as they had, paying for them by their products. This cutting off of all outlet for the products of their farms and labor could only result in stagnation. With a fertile soil, a sea filled with fish, and a coast swarming with fur-seals and sea-otter, the California settler could only sell a few skins, a few hides, a little tallow, and a few *fanegas* of grain.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century American ships began to visit the Pacific coast of North America for skins of sea-otter and other fur-bearing animals. These vessels carried goods for trade and landed their wares whenever opportunity offered. With the assistance of Aleuts furnished by the Russian-American company, they took great numbers of fur-seals and sea-otter. The Farallon islands, off San Francisco, and the islands of the Santa Barbara channel furnished quantities of these animals. The bay of San Francisco was full of sea-otter and the Russians entered in their canoes and hunted them under the very guns of the Spanish fort. The Russians maintained a station on the Farallones, whence in 1810-11, the ship Albatross took 73,402 fur-seals according to the log of the captain's clerk, W. A. Gale. Robinson tells of landing

on the largest Farallon with him in 1833, when Gale attempted to show Robinson how he bagged the seals and taking a club started to descend the rocks to head off a couple of big fellows they discovered asleep; but Gale had lost his youthful vigor and activity and, his courage failing him, the seals escaped. Down to the year 1830 the Russians took a large number of otter on the California coast, variously estimated from five to ten thousand per year, the best skins selling in China at sixty dollars each. It seems strange that the Spanish and Mexican authorities should permit their coasts to be stripped of this great wealth by foreigners who returned no revenue. Later otter hunting was licensed on condition that two-thirds of the crews should be Californians and that the foreigners paid duties on their share of skins. Free licenses were also granted to Californians. The sea-otter which in 1812 were so plentiful that, according to Vallejo they were killed by the boatmen with their oars in passing through the seaweed,* were now growing scarce.

Before the end of the second decade the prohibition of foreign trade had become a dead letter. California, left to herself, had to get on as best she could. The needs of the government were such that the governor was glad to purchase any supplies that could be paid for in produce and for revenue he levied import and export duties. In 1821 Monterey and San Diego were formally opened to foreign trade, and

* Vallejo: *Hist. Cal.* MS. 1, 105-6. Bancroft Coll.

in 1822 the Lima firm of John Begg & Co. entered into a contract with the missions to take all the hides offered, and at least twenty-five thousand *arrobas** of tallow per year. The contract was for three years from January 1, 1823, and the price was one dollar each for hides and two dollars per arroba for tallow. The Lima firm was represented by Hugh McCulloch and William Edward Paty Hartnell who formed the firm of McCulloch, Hartnell & Co. Hartnell remained as the resident partner of the firm and became a citizen of California. He was baptized into the Roman Catholic faith; married María Teresa, daughter of José de la Guerra y Noriega, and thus became allied with one of the most prominent families of California.

In 1822 came Henry Gyzelaar and William A. Gale for hides and tallow, in the American ship *Sachem* from Boston, the first ship to engage in the profitable trade so long continued between California and Boston. Gyzelaar was master and Gale supercargo of the *Sachem* and both were part owners. Both had been in the fur trade in California before, and Gale had, as we have seen, taken large quantities of seal-skins on the Farallon rocks at San Francisco. Some difficulty was encountered by Gale in getting a cargo by reason of the contract the missions had entered into with the Lima house, but by offering one dollar and fifty cents per hide and one dollar and seventy-five cents per arroba for tallow, he

* *Arroba*—twenty-five pounds.

disposed of his cargo of notions and secured a load of hides, tallow, and other produce. These prices were later advanced to two dollars for hides and five dollars per arroba for tallow, while two dollars and fifty cents per pound was paid for beaver skins, and thirty to forty dollars apiece for sea-otter. The opening of the ports to foreign trade was a great stimulus to California development and the secularization of the missions opened the lands to settlement. Cattle raising became a great industry and each year more ships came to the coast for hides and tallow. The trade was largely in the hands of Americans, Boston houses predominating. The ships came loaded with cloths, silks, hardware, utensils, wines, liquors, and all the miscellaneous articles needed by the Californians, and after entering the cargo at Monterey and paying the duties, the ship would trade up and down the coast until all the goods were disposed of. A trade room was fitted up on the ship with shelves, counters, etc., like a country store, and the goods displayed to the best advantage. The arrival of a Boston ship always excited the greatest interest, lining the roads with people coming to inspect the goods and to make purchases, and with cattle and carts laden with hides and tallow for the ship. Smuggling was extensively carried on. Most of the merchants engaged in it and, it is said, some of the padres were wont to indulge in the practice of evading the customs dues. The method pursued by the customs officials made smuggling easy. Mon-

terey was made sole port of entry. If a vessel on any pretext entered any other port, a guard was placed on board and she was ordered to depart with the shortest possible delay for Monterey. On arrival at that port she was visited by the collector who was received on board with all due ceremony. The event was usually made one of social entertainment and the merchants and prominent residents of the town were invited to accompany the customs officials. In the cabin would be laid out refreshments, solid and liquid, in the greatest variety and abundance, and after feasting and the drinking of numerous healths and toasts, the collector would proceed to inspect the cargo and fix the amount of duty to be paid. A favorite method of smuggling was for a vessel to land the more valuable portion of her cargo on some lonely part of the coast or island and re-load after passing the Monterey custom house inspection. So openly was smuggling conducted during the latter part of the Mexican administration that the officials could hardly be ignorant of its extent. The duties were about one hundred per cent., and, it was argued, if the traders were obliged to pay the whole tax, instead of about one-quarter of it the goods would have to be sold at so high a price the people would be unable to buy them, thus the trade would be destroyed, the people suffer, and the government receive no benefit. Davis tells of the arrival at San Francisco of the American bark Don Quixote, of which he was supercargo, from

Honolulu with a full cargo valued at twenty thousand dollars. The sub-prefect ordered the ship to Monterey and placed a guard on board. The obliging guard was put in a state room, furnished with a bottle of madeira, one of aguardiente, a box of cigars, was promised twenty dollars in the morning and locked up for the night. All night the crew worked landing the cargo on the beach in front of Spear's store, whence it was taken inside. Davis says they landed half the cargo, but it would seem nearer the whole, for the subsequent appraisal at Monterey was but one thousand one hundred and eight dollars. After paying dues at Monterey and getting her permit, the Don Quixote returned to San Francisco, openly reloaded her cargo and proceeded south on her trading expedition, maintaining a fiction that Spear was shipping some of his goods south.* Another practice was to exhibit a fictitious invoice and pay, say ten thousand dollars on a cargo worth forty thousand dollars. The trader considered that there was nothing particularly wrong about this, as the invoice did not have to be sworn to. Davis says that the merchants and owners engaged in smuggling were just as much respected as any one else in the community. Sometimes whole cargoes would be transferred at sea to vessels having the custom's permit. It is said that the Sandwich islands traders were the particular offenders in these transactions. Occasionally a smuggler would be caught

* Davis: *Sixty Years in California*.

up and ship and cargo condemned and sold. The whalers coming into San Francisco bay for supplies and anchoring at Sausalito were allowed to trade goods in limited amounts in payment of supplies and they took advantage of their privilege to engage in extensive smuggling operations.

Having attended to the formalities of the custom-house at Monterey the ship became a floating store and traded up and down the coast until her cargo was disposed of and a return load secured. As the hides were collected they were taken to La Playa at San Diego where great hide houses were erected for their curing and storing and where the ship loaded for her homeward voyage. The Boston houses found the trade very lucrative. They sold their goods at a large profit and bought their return cargoes at a low price. A voyage generally took between two and three years, and a house engaged in the trade contrived to have one or two ships on the coast all the time. Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* gives a most interesting account of these "hide droghing" days and second only to this is William H. Thomes' *On Land and Sea*. The customs duties that in 1826 were thirteen thousand dollars, rose in 1835, the year of Dana's arrival, to fifty thousand dollars and in 1840 to seventy thousand dollars. These sums may be safely estimated at about one-half of what they should have been, while the annual exports of California were valued at that time at two hundred and forty-one

thousand dollars, of which San Francisco furnished eighty-three thousand dollars. The Boston ships paid the greater part of these duties, but so extensive became the operations of the smugglers that the trade ceased to be profitable to houses that paid duties and the Boston ships retired.

The first private land grant in California was made November 22, 1775, to Manuel Butron, a soldier of the Monterey presidio, by virtue of his military services and also in recognition of the claims of his wife, Margarita, a daughter of the mission of the Cárnelo. The grant was for a piece of land one hundred and forty varas square and was made by Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, comandante of California, and attested by Corporal Hermenegildo Sal, who acted as a sort of secretary of state.

This grant was made pursuant to a reglamento of Bucaréli, viceroy of New Spain, dated August 17, 1773. This reglamento authorized the comandante of California to distribute lands in private to such Indians as would devote themselves to agriculture and the breeding of cattle; it also gave the comandante authority to distribute lands to settlers according to their merit and means of labor. The reglamento of Felipe de Neve, governor of California, approved by the king October 24, 1781, provided that the colonist (*poblador*) should receive one hundred and sixteen dollars and forty-four cents per year for two years and sixty dollars per year for the next three years, in lieu of rations; each was to

receive a house lot (*solar*), and a planting lot (*suerte*) two hundred varas square, together with cattle, sheep, pigs, fowls, and implements, and was to be exempt from all taxes for five years. Each poblador was to hold himself equipped with two horses, a saddle complete, musket and other arms, for defense at the call of the governor. In the decree of August 18, 1824, the Mexican nation "promises to those foreigners who may come to establish themselves in its territory, security in their persons and property, provided they subject themselves to the laws of the country." It provided for distribution of lands to Mexican citizens, without distinction except only such as is due to private merit and services rendered. No one person could obtain ownership of more than one league square of five thousand varas of irrigable land (*tierra de regadio*), four superficial ones of land dependent on the seasons (*de temporal*), and six superficial ones for the purpose of rearing cattle (*de abrevadero*). Land within twenty leagues of the boundaries of any foreign nation, or within ten leagues of the coast could not be colonized without the previous approval of the general government. The general rules and regulations of November 21, 1828, authorized the governors of the territories, in compliance with the law of August 18, 1824, to grant vacant lands to such contractors (*empresarios*), families, or private persons, whether Mexicans or foreigners, who might ask for them for the purpose of cultivating and inhabiting them. These were the

laws under which lands were granted down to the time of the American occupation in 1846. The law made provision for the method to be followed in the granting of lands and no private grant was valid without the consent of the territorial diputacion, though an appeal to the supreme government could be taken by the governor should the diputacion reject a grant. The petitioner filed with his application a plan or sketch (*diseño*) of the desired tract. The request was then referred to the proper authorities for information concerning the applicant and the land desired, and if all was favorable, the grant was made, the papers (*expediente*) transmitted to the diputacion where they were copied into the record, and were then delivered to the applicant for his protection and constituted his title. But few grants were made prior to the establishment of the republic, but after the opening of the ports to foreign trade the applications for ranchos became more numerous and with the secularization of the missions, the advent of the foreigners, and the general expectation of American domination, the scramble for land became very great. The foreigners were very well treated and by becoming naturalized obtained grants of land. Many of the Americans who came during the last days of Mexican control imagined that they were entitled to land, and refused to comply with the requirements of law, expecting to obtain it without doing so. Some even claimed that land had been promised them to induce them to

emigrate to California. Perhaps it had, but not by those who owned it. With the conquest and the subsequent discovery of gold, the land question became acute. Americans with guns in their hands asserted their right to "preempt" such land as they chose to consider vacant, and in the opinion of the "squatters" the Californians had no rights the conquerors were bound to respect. The matter was further complicated by the appearance of a number of alleged grants, whose timely production was, to say the least, suspicious.

In 1851 Congress passed an act creating a commission to examine all California land claims. Within a stated period all claims must be presented before the board by the claimants and those not so presented were to be no longer regarded, but the lands in question were then to be considered part of the public domain. All claimants were to appear before the board as suitors against the United States which as represented by its attorneys was to resist their claims. Either party could appeal from the decision of the board to the United States district court and thence to the United States supreme court.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had guaranteed to Californians the protection of their property rights and the land bill of 1851 was an act of injustice and a violation of the spirit of the treaty. Instead of the protection guaranteed, the land owner was obliged to defend his title to land which had perhaps been in his family for many years and to which his

right was well known and had never been disputed. He was placed in the position of holding a fraudulent title which he had to defend at his own expense against a powerful opponent. The lawyers took immense fees in land and cattle, while the United States through its able attorneys contested the claims. By questioning the title, the law rendered the land hard to sell and the owner in order to raise money for taxes, support, and defense was obliged to part with a good portion at a fraction of its value and thus vast tracts fell into the hands of lawyers and speculating land sharpers. The resulting concentration in a few hands of a great part of the agricultural lands worked to the detriment of the development of the state, while to the individual Californian the result was disastrous. If the land commission decided in his favor the case could be, and usually was, appealed to the district court and thence to the supreme court at Washington; the struggle for "protection" lasting anywhere from five to twenty-five years, and long before a final decision was reached the once ranchero prince had perhaps parted with his last acre and was a vagabond and a wanderer.

CHAPTER XI.

**SPANISH ADMINISTRATION
1769-1846**

UNDER the rule of Spain the administration of California was purely military. The territory was divided into four districts, each under the protection of a military post known as a presidio.* A presidio was a walled camp about six hundred feet square whose walls of adobe were some fourteen feet high and five feet thick with small bastions flanking the angles. The walls had but one gate and were surrounded by a ditch twelve feet wide and six feet deep. Its armament generally consisted of eight bronze cannon—eight, twelve, and sixteen pounders. Although incapable of resisting an attack of ships of war these fortifications were sufficient to repel the incursions of Indians. Not far from the presidio was the fort or battery, called the *castillo*. Within the enclosure of the presidio were the church, the quarters of the officers and soldiers, the houses of colonists, store houses, workshops, stables, wells, and cisterns. The military reservation of a fort or presidio (*egidos*) as laid down by law was equal to a square of three thousand varas;† that is, fifteen hundred varas measured to “each wind” (cardinal point) from the center of its plaza. If the lay of the land was such that the measurement could not be made in the form of a square, the required quantity was to be made up by measurements in other directions. The commander

* From the Roman *praesidium*, a garrison or fortified camp.

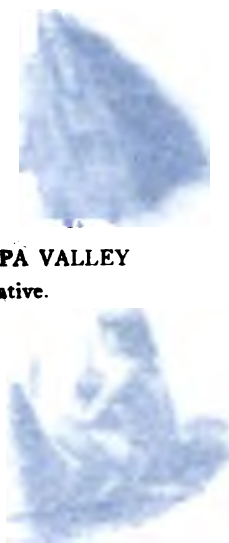
† 3000 varas square equals 1564 acres.

of the presidio had full jurisdiction within his district, subject to the approval of the governor. The governor, who was an officer of the army, held his appointment from the viceroy of New Spain; there was neither a legislative body nor council, the governor executing the orders of the viceroy and being responsible to him only. Each presidio furnished to the missions within its district, a guard (*escorta*) varying from five to eight soldiers under command of a corporal or sergeant, and also a guard of from two to five soldiers to each pueblo, keeping in the presidio as a garrison and for escort duty, expeditions, etc., from twenty to thirty men.

The small military establishment of California excited the wonder of foreign naval commanders visiting the coast. They could not understand Spain's neglect of a country of such great natural resources. The excellence of its climate, the fertility of its soil, the spaciousness of its harbors, rendered possible the creation of a province of great power and influence on the coast of the Pacific. Vancouver, writing in 1793, after describing the beauty of the country, its climate, soil, etc., says: "From this brief sketch some idea may be formed of the present state of the European settlements in this country, and the degree of importance they are to the Spanish monarchy, which retains the extent of country under its authority by a force that, had we not been eye-witnesses of its insignificance in many instances, we should hardly have given credit



CALIFORNIA INDIANS, **NAPA VALLEY**
From BARTLETT's Narrative.



THE INDIANS OF SAN FRANCISCO

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to the possibility of so small a body of men keeping in awe and under subjection the natives of this country, without resorting to harsh or unjustifiable measures. The number of their forces between port St. Francisco and San Diego, including both establishments, and occupying an extent of one line of upwards of four hundred and twenty nautical miles, does not amount to three hundred, officers included. * * *

"Should the ambition of any civilized nation attempt to seize on these unsupported posts (the presidios of San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego) they could not make the least resistance and must inevitably fall to a force barely sufficient for garrisoning and securing the country."*

The force at the time of Vancouver's visit was two hundred and twenty-five men all told. It was increased in 1795 to two hundred and eighty, and in 1796 a company of seventy-five Catalan volunteers (infantry), and eighteen artillerymen were added, raising the force to three hundred and eighty-five men, the largest number it attained.

Until 1804 the two Californias were united under one governor, but in 1805 a separate governor was appointed for Lower California. The first governor of the Californias, Gaspar de Portolá, was a captain of dragoons. His successors held the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The presidios were each commanded by a lieutenant, but in 1805 these officers

* Vancouver: *Voyage of Discovery* ii, 499-501.

were raised to the rank of captain and henceforth the comandante held that rank. The capital of the Californias until 1777 was Loreto, in Lower California, Alta California being ruled by the comandante. In November 1777, the governor, Felipe de Neve, by order of the king, removed his office to Monterey, which henceforth with exception of a brief interval was the capital.

In the Mexican war for independence California took no part, and the sympathy of the people, so far as it was manifested, was with Spain. During the long struggle California suffered from neglect. For ten years the troops received no pay and but for the assistance rendered them by the missions, must have starved. The transports, which had twice a year brought supplies to the presidios, failed to appear and the result was great distress to the garrisons. The supplies collected in 1810 for the California presidios were captured by the insurgent forces, and those collected in 1811 were held in Mexico for fear they would fall into the hands of the rebels while being conveyed to the coast. In 1812 the Russian-American company established a post at Bodega, a few miles north of San Francisco, built a fort, which they called Ross, and issued a proclamation expressing a wish to establish commercial relations with their friends and neighbors, the noble and brave Spaniards of the Californias, and offering to supply them with the various lines of goods which they needed. Trade was forbidden the province, but

the necessities of the governor (Arrillaga) compelled him to supply from the Russian company some of the most imperative needs of the presidios. Another source of supply was the foreign ships visiting the coast for the skins of fur animals. This trade was, of course, strictly forbidden, but the smugglers managed to land goods from time to time to the great profit of those concerned and the relief of the needy inhabitants. For beef and produce the governor made his requisitions on the missions, giving in payment his drafts on the *real hacienda*,* and in 1820 the missions held unpaid treasury drafts for hundreds of thousands of dollars. For ten years the padres supported the province and during that entire time received no salaries. There was no increase of population during this period beyond a few soldiers sent from Mexico and the natural increase in the families.

In November 1818, two ships flying the flag of the Buenos Aires insurgents suddenly appeared off Monterey and the commander, Captain Hippolyte Bouchard, a piratical adventurer, landed three hundred men and captured and plundered the presidio. The pirate then sailed south, plundered and burned the buildings of the Refugio rancho near Santa Barbara, and then departed without doing further damage in California. The news reached Mexico in December and a company of one hundred infantry was sent from San Blas and a cavalry company of one hundred men from Mazatlan, to rein-

* Royal treasury.

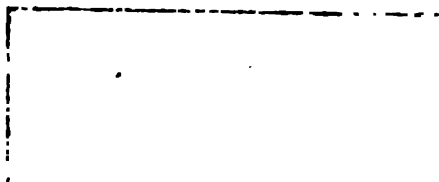
force the presidios. The San Blas infantry was composed of *cholos*—convicts and vagabonds of the lowest description—and they gave the Californians an infinite amount of trouble before they succeeded in getting rid of them.

After the independence of Mexico California became a territory of that republic and entitled to one *diputado* in its congress. The first *territorial diputacion* was organized at Monterey, November 9, 1822. It was composed of seven members, two substitutes, and a secretary. Each of the four presidial districts: Monterey, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and San Diego, was represented by a member, one from the pueblo of Los Angeles, one at large, and the governor, ex-officio president. This was the first legislature of California. It was, however, more of the nature of a council than a legislative body. Its resolutions had to be sent for approval to the supreme government at Mexico. Figueroa said, in referring to its powers, "The Diputacion never had the vain pretension to attribute to any of its determinations the force of laws."* In 1827 the diputacion adopted a resolution changing the name of California to Moctezuma, but the government at Mexico, fortunately, did not give its approval.

In 1825 a special board, the Junta Fomento de Californias, was assembled in the City of Mexico to formulate plans for the government and coloniza-

* Figueroa: *Manifiesto*, p. 26.

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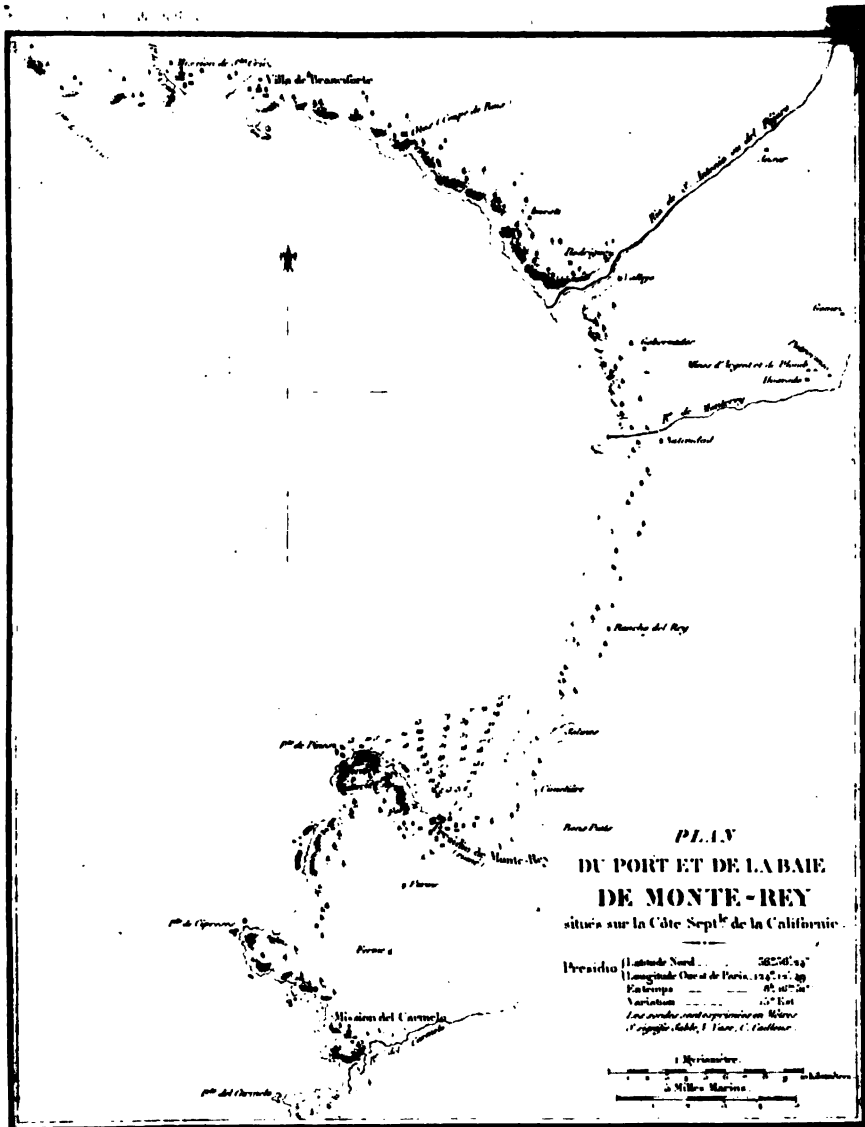
PORT OF MONTEREY IN 1846
Reproduced from DE MOFRAS' Atlas.

CHAPTER VIII. SAN FRANCISCO

THE Spanish infantry was composed of soldiers and vagabonds of the most dissolute type. The Californians were not to have the Californians before they succeeded

in the establishment of Mexico California as a free republic and entitled to self-government. The first *territorial* assembly was organized at Monterey, November 9, 1822, and consisted of seven members, two from each of the four principal cities, Monterey, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and San Diego, was represented by a member from each of the pueblos of Los Angeles, one at large. This was the first assembly of the territory. It was, however, not a legislative body, but a council of administration to be sent for approval to the government at Mexico. Figueroa, in his report to the government, "The Diputacion of California," attributed to any of the laws of the territory of laws."* In 1827 the government of Mexico changed the name of the territory from California to Alta California, but the government of Mexico did not give its ap-

proval of the Junta Fomento de Colonizacion established in the City of Mexico for the government and coloniza-



Échelle 1:100,000

chattels, tools, instruments, and seeds on hand. Also in community, a sufficient quantity of land for pasturing and watering their cattle.

Mexican independence was followed by the regency; that by the empire of Iturbide, and the empire, in turn, by the republic. The federal constitution was received in California in January 1825, and ratified by the diputacion the following March. The padres did not take kindly to the republic. Most of them were born in Spain and their sympathies were with the monarchy. They refused to take the oath of allegiance and until compelled refused to furnish supplies to the presidios. The ratification of the constitution by the diputacion was unaccompanied by the religious ceremony customary on such occasion, as Padre Sarria, *comisario prefecto*,* did not approve of the republic. Though the attitude of the priests caused some angry protests, and the Indians, under their influence, gave signs of disaffection, they continued to rule over the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of their respective missions.

While the general condition of the mission pueblos was one of peace and content, severe treatment for petty offences caused, in several instances, serious revolt. In 1824 the Indians of Santa Inés, La Purisima, and Santa Barbara rose simultaneously,

*The *comisario prefecto* was the superior of the father president and had charge of the mission temporalities. Sarria refused to take the oath, pleading anterior obligations. *Sarria á Argüello, Archivo de Arzobispado* iv, 135-6. Bancroft Collection.

PORT OF SAN DIEGO IN 1840
Reproduced from DE MOFRAS' Atlas.

Note the Punta de los Muertos where the dead of the First Expedition were buried; also the hide houses mentioned by DANA.

CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

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and it was with some difficulty and at a cost of several lives that peace was restored; and while several of the ring leaders were severely dealt with for their activity in inciting the revolt the padres used their influence to soften the punishment inflicted upon their wards, and the Indians who had fled to the wild tribes of the Tulares gradually returned to their mission homes. In 1835, Ensign Vallejo was ordered by Governor Figueroa to establish a garrison town and colony on the northern frontier to hold the heathen tribes in subjection and serve as a check to the advance of Russian settlement. Vallejo with a small force of soldiers established the post at the ex-mission of San Francisco Solano, then in process of secularization, and laid out a pueblo to which he gave the name of Sonoma (Valley of the Moon), the Indian name for the valley. To this post he transferred the San Francisco company, leaving at Fort San Joaquin a few artillerymen, to care for the guns. Vallejo was raised to the rank of lieutenant and made commander of the northern frontier. He was now twenty-nine years old and a thoroughly trained soldier, having entered the army at the age of seventeen. He had been in command of the San Francisco presidio for several years and had had the experience of several Indian campaigns. With a comparatively strong company at his command he pursued a wise policy toward the Indians, protecting them when at peace, but punishing severely any manifestation of hostility. He was a strict

disciplinarian and possessing an imperious character, he permitted no interference with his military command and preserved the peace of the frontier. He formed an alliance with Solano, chief of the Suisunes, and with his assistance ruled the tribes of the north, many of whom were brave and warlike.

The Californians were becoming tired of the way in which their province was governed by distant Mexico and believed that the officials to rule California should be chosen from among the educated and competent men of the country instead of men sent from Mexico. They rose and expelled Governor Victoria in 1831, and later, in 1836, Governor Chico. Chico in leaving California turned over the command, civil and military to Lieutenant-colonel Nicolas Gutierrez, who became governor ad interim. The diputacion resented this believing the control should have been left with them. In 1836 the Californians of the north rose in revolt and headed by Juan Bautista Alvarado, a young Californian of marked ability, drove Gutierrez from the country. In this rebellion Alvarado was assisted by a Tennessean named Isaac Graham, a mountaineer hunter and trapper, a crack shot, and a man ready for any desperate adventure. Graham had come into California from New Mexico three years before and had set up a distillery in the Salinas valley at a place called Natividad, making his house a resort for runaway sailors and other foreigners as wild and reckless as himself. To Graham came Alvarado for help

**VALLEJO REVIEWING HIS TROOPS ON THE
PLAZA AT SONOMA, 1836**

From a painting in possession of Dr. PLATON VALLEJO.

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...To Calaham came Alvarado for help



which was readily granted, and Graham raised a company of some fifty foreign riflemen and, joining forces with the Californians under José Castro, marched, one hundred and fifty strong, against Monterey. Gutierrez surrendered and was sent with his officers to Cape San Lucas on the English brig *Clementine*, November 11, 1836. The diputacion declared California independent of Mexico, elected Alvarado governor and called Vallejo to the *comandancia-general*. In the south, Los Angeles and San Diego refused to recognize Alvarado as governor and would not agree to the separation from Mexico. Alvarado went south with a force to meet the opposition arrayed against him, but before any collision took place he realized that to succeed he must give up the idea of an independent state and submit himself to the constitutional authority. This he did, sending a special commissioner to Mexico. Meanwhile, under the influence of José Antonio Carrillo, diputado for California, the supreme government had appointed Carlos Antonio Carrillo, brother of the diputado, governor. Alvarado refused to surrender the office and after several skirmishes made prisoners of Carrillo and the southern leaders, but soon released them, and the supreme government reconciled the belligerents by recognizing Alvarado as governor and compensating the Carrillos by the gift of the island of Santa Rosa.

The laws of December 1836 made the Californias a department of the republic. The diputacion

became the *junta departmental*, Alta California was divided into two districts, and each district into two *partidos*. A district was governed by a prefect whose authority was second to the governor and he was appointed by the governor subject to the approval of the supreme government, while a partido was governed by a sub-prefect who was appointed by the prefect, subject to the approval of the governor. The first district extended from the Sonoma frontier to San Luis Obispo, with the head-town (*cabecera*) at San Juan Bautista, and the second district from El Buchon to Santo Domingo on the peninsula frontier, with the cabecera at Los Angeles. The line of division of the first district was Las Llagas creek, and San Francisco was the cabecera of the second partido. The line dividing the second district was between San Fernando and Cahuenga. Vallejo was made comandante-militar of California and received a commission as colonel of *defensores de la patria*. He exerted himself to bring the military establishment into something like efficiency. The country was defenseless and it was Vallejo's opinion that in the restoration of the presidial companies lay its hope of salvation. With the exception of the San Francisco company maintained at Sonoma by Vallejo from his personal resources, there was hardly pretense of a military force in California. The roster of the presidial company of Monterey showed in 1841 twenty-two men, all told, and that of Santa Barbara, twenty-five. At San Diego, where, in 1830,

there was an effective force of one hundred and twenty men, the company had entirely disappeared, the presidio was abandoned and in ruins; the fort on Punta Guijarros (Ballast Point), which in 1830 mounted thirteen guns, was abandoned, and in 1840 sold for forty dollars. The guns seem to have remained at the fort, as it is stated that Captain W. D. Phelps of the American ship *Alert*, loading with hides at San Diego, spiked the guns of the fort on hearing of Commodore Jones' action at Monterey, fearful that his ship and cargo would be seized by Governor Micheltorena. The militia companies (*defensores de la patria*) existed mainly on paper. Vallejo urged his views upon the governor and also appealed to Mexico, laying before the minister of war the need of repairs to the fortifications, explaining the danger of foreign encroachments and stating that he could no longer maintain the military force on the northern frontier from his own means. He asked for money, arms, and munitions of war. He received some arms, ammunition, uniforms, etc., and was given authority to reorganize the presidial companies. A few recruits were obtained but they were of such a character that he could not accept them, and for money he was obliged to content himself with the small share of the revenue duties apportioned to the army. The soldiers, not receiving their pay, went to work on the ranchos to support their families.²⁸

During the interregnum following the expulsion

of Governor Victoria, the foreigners living at Monterey were enrolled for the defense of the town. The *Compania Extranjera*, as it was called, was organized in January 1832 and forty-six men signed the rolls. Among them were W. E. P. Hartnell, Nathan Spear, Captain J. B. R. Cooper, Thomas Doak, George Kinlock, James Watson, and Henry Bee. Hartnell was elected captain and J. B. Bonifacio, lieutenant. Bancroft says the company disbanded in April.

In January 1841 Vallejo laid before the supreme government his dissatisfaction with the administration of Alvarado and his conviction that it would be wise to unite the civil and military commands under one head. He reiterated his recommendation for the restoration of the presidial companies and asked to be relieved of his command and permitted to visit the national capital. Later Governor Alvarado reported the arrival in California of a party of thirty armed Americans from Missouri and of another party of foreigners from New Mexico,* and suggested the sending of one hundred and fifty or two hundred men to reinforce the presidios.† The opportunity was thus offered the home government to reestablish its authority in California, and Brigadier-general Don Manuel Micheltorena was appointed governor, comandante-general, and inspector, and a battalion of five hundred men was authorized

* These were the Bartleson and the Workman-Rowland companies.

† Robinson: *Life in California*, 211. Bancroft: *Hist. Cal.* iv, 198-284.

for service in California, of whom two hundred were to be regular troops and three hundred were to be recruited from the prisons of Mexico. Of the regulars the most undesirable men were assigned for duty in California. With this promising material the general started for his new department, his ranks thinning by desertion as he went. The army was known by the pretentious title of the Batallon Fijo* de Californias, and of the five hundred enlisted, about three hundred and fifty reached California. Robinson, who was in San Diego in August 1842 when the first detachment landed, says: "The brig Chato arrived with ninety soldiers and their families. I saw them land and to me they presented a state of wretchedness and misery unequalled. Not one individual among them possessed a jacket or pantaloons; but naked, and like the savage Indians, they concealed their nudity with dirty, miserable blankets. The females were not much better off; for the scantiness of their mean apparel was too apparent for modest observers. They appeared like convicts and, indeed, the greater portion of them had been charged with crimes either of murder or theft. And these were the *soldiers* sent to subdue this happy country! These were the valiant followers of a heroic general, who had fought on the battlefield where he had gained laurels for himself and country. These were to be the enforcers of justice and good government. Alas! poor California! when such are

* Batallon Fijo—Permanent battalion.

to be thy ministers, thou art indeed fallen! The remainder of the 'convict army' arrived in course of time, and I had an opportunity of seeing them all afterwards at the Pueblo (Los Angeles) when on their route towards Monterey, the seat of government. They mustered about three hundred and fifty men, and their general had given them, since their arrival, a neat uniform of white linen. Here their stay was protracted in order to drill and prepare for service, in case of opposition from Señor Alvarado."* Both Robinson and Bancroft intimate that Micheltorena's *cholos*† were more proficient in foraging for supplies by night than they were in the drill during the day. After a month's stay at Los Angeles Micheltorena resumed his march to Monterey, but had proceeded no further than San Fernando when he received an *extraordinario* from Alvarado with dispatches to the effect that Commodore Jones had anchored in the port of Monterey and had demanded the surrender of the place on the day following (October 20th). Micheltorena received the dispatch on the night of the 24th and at once began his preparations for a retreat to Los Angeles, ordering all available forces and supplies concentrated there, but before he could get under way he received a message from Jones himself to the effect that Monterey had been restored. Micheltorena replied saying that he was marching to meet the invader and expel him from the

* Robinson: *Life in California*, 212-3.

† *Cholos*: Thieves, vagabonds, ruffians.

country, but as he had seen fit to withdraw he demanded a personal conference at Los Angeles that the satisfaction rendered by the American commander might be as public as the outrage. To this reasonable demand Jones assented and with several of his officers landed at San Pedro where he was met and escorted to Los Angeles. With many compliments and toasts the ethics of international law were satisfied and the Mexican general gave Jones and his officers a ball at which they all had a jolly good time, and departed well pleased with their entertainment.

Micheltorena's courteous manners and gentlemanly conduct won him many friends, particularly among the foreigners, but it was with the greatest difficulty that he found means to sustain his army. Indeed it was said that his cholos maintained themselves—by stealing. Contributions were received from citizens and Vallejo responded liberally to the general's appeal, as did José Yves Limantour, a French trader on the coast, of whom we shall hear more later. Micheltorena remained in Los Angeles until midsummer and then marched his *batallon* to Monterey, much to the delight of the cholos, who had, it is said, stolen everything eatable in the south.

In July 1844, Micheltorena ordered the enrolment of all citizens between the ages of fifteen and sixty, including naturalized foreigners, to be formed into nine companies of militia and drilled every Sunday. They were to hold themselves in readiness to be called into active service. This was in accordance with

orders from Mexico, in anticipation of a war with the United States. The governor established his headquarters at San Juan Bautista where he assembled his ammunition stores and where he determined to make his last stand against the invader. These stores fell into the hands of a small revolutionary party under Manuel Castro in November 1844, at the beginning of an uprising that drove Micheltorena from power. In March 1845, the defeated governor, accompanied by his officers and about two hundred of his cholos, sailed for San Blas in the American brig *Don Quixote*, Captain John Paty, and Pio Pico, first vocal of the junta departmental, reigned as governor in California.

Some of Micheltorena's convict soldiers who through desertion or other causes were left in California, and who began to commit acts of rapine, robbery, and murder were hunted down like wild beasts and destroyed.

Vallejo had failed in his plan to rehabilitate the presidial companies. His appeal to the supreme government had only resulted in the shipment to the country of a lot of convicts. The new governor, though an *hijo del pais*, was a dull, stupid man, and the reins were held with a feeble grasp."

This then was the deplorable condition of California on the eve of its conquest by the Americans. Neglected by Mexico, its presidial soldiers disbanded and its forts in ruins, it lay defenseless, a prey to the first comer who cared to take and hold possession.

CHAPTER XII.

**THE FOREIGNERS (LOS EXTRANJEROS)
1795—1846**

IN that section of the western coast of North America extending from the blue waters of Puget sound to the sunlit shores of San Diego bay, the fame of the Boston man has been known and regarded from the dawn of civilization; and very firmly did he establish himself in the minds, at least, if not in the hearts of the native races of the northwest. The untutored mind of the savage is apt to associate men—the individual and the race—with some one whom he admires, or with some special class whose character or occupation has made an impression on him. Thus the Iroquois gave the name of Corlaer to the governors of New York, because of Arent Van Corlaer, the founder of Schenectady, who had won their hearts and was as a father to them. The governor of Canada was always Onontio, from Montmagny, governor in 1635; the governor of Pennsylvania they called Onas—the feather or quill (Penn); and the governor of Massachusetts was Kinshon—the fish—the name being also applied to the people of New England. So to the Siwash of the northwest, the American was “Boston man,” and thus he is known to-day.

At the time when the American colonists were fighting for independence the Spanish missionary fathers, under the protection of a small military force, were making a spiritual conquest of California. As the years went by, the inhabitants of this distant corner of the globe became aware that a nation had

been born somewhere on the other side of the continent. They did not understand the thing very clearly at first, but they knew very well that Boston had had something to do with it.

About the beginning of September 1795, an English merchantman, the *Phoenix*, Captain Moore, from Bombay, put into Santa Barbara for supplies. The officers of the ship were handsomely entertained by the comandante of the garrison and his attentions were reciprocated by a dinner and dance given on board the ship. Among the ship's company was a young sailor and shipmaster from Boston whose ship had been lost in the Pacific. The beautiful country, the delicious climate, the kind hospitality of the people, and the bewitching grace of the lovely *senoritas* proved strong attractions to the young Bostonaise, and he determined to forsake the hardships and dangers of the sea, give up friends and country, and spend his life in this delightful spot. He was received with open arms and his petition for permission to remain in California was warmly endorsed by the comandante of the presidio in the following letter:

"I inform your Excellency, that on this day, at about four o'clock in the morning, the mail arrived from San Diego bringing safely the enclosed letter.

"Also, I have caused to be about to depart the English vessel, of which I have informed your Excellency, which will finish taking water to-day.

"There has come, as a passenger on this vessel, a young man of the Boston nation, (*Un moso Bostones de Nacion*), who presented himself to me, asking permission to remain in the province. He wishes to become a Christian, and serve our Catholic monarch (whom God preserve). His name I do not state now, not having it before me, but will do so on the first occasion. He is a very handsome fellow, a skillful pilot and carpenter, of good parentage, according to the statements of all from the captain downward, and having lost two vessels and his capital he does not wish to continue longer in the business of navigation. He will remain in my house until your Excellency may dispose of all according to your superior pleasure.

"Of the refreshment with which this vessel has been succored I will inform your Excellency when she has set sail, as I know not whether she will ask for anything else.

"Our Lord preserve your Excellency many years.

"Santa Barbara, September 5, 1795.

"Felipe de Goycoechea.

"Senor Governor and Comandante Inspector,

"Don Diego de Borica."*

In a subsequent letter dated October 8, 1795, Captain Goycoechea gives the American's name "Josef Ocayne," and says he has sent him on the frigate, Nuestra Señora Aranzazú, to San Blas. He also says "This Englishman is a native of Ireland

* *Provincial State Papers* XIV, 221, 222. Spanish Archives of California.

and his parents now live in Boston." (*Dicho Yngles es nativo en Yrlanda y ahora sus padres viven en Boston.*)* This is the first foreigner I have record of who desired to settle in California.

In December 1799 Captain Goycochea, who had been appointed governor of Lower California, better informed concerning the Boston nation, complains to the viceroy that the vessels of the Anglo-Americans have not only, within the past few years, begun to frequent the waters of the Spanish possessions in quest of fish, pearls, and furs, "but, confident that there is no one to restrain them, they come with arrogant boldness to anchor in our very harbors and to act with the same liberty as if they were Spaniards. Their arrivals, which are becoming frequent, should convince your Excellency that quite possibly this proud nation, constantly increasing in strength, may one day venture to measure it with Spain."†

It was nineteen years after the advent of Joseph O'Cain at Santa Barbara before the first permanent foreign settler appeared in California. In January 1814 the Isaac Todd, an English armed merchantman, bound for the Columbia river, anchored in Monterey bay and landed three men sick with scurvy. One of these, a mere boy of twenty named John Gilroy, was not expected to live. He was taken by María Teodora Peralta, wife of José Apolonario Bernal, and carried to her father's rancho at San

* *Provincial State Papers* XXI, 637, 638. Spanish Archives of California.

† Bancroft: *Hist. Cal.* ii, 32.

Antonio (Alameda county) where he was nursed back to life and health. Gilroy was a Scotchman and his real name was John Cameron for he had run away from home and had changed his name to avoid arrest. The boy made himself useful to his kind friends and in 1819, on application of Captain José de la Guerra, received permission to remain in California. He had been baptized into the Roman Catholic faith and Ignacio Ortega, son of the pathfinder, gave him his daughter, María Clara, to wife, and one *sitio* of his rancho of San Isidro. He was married in the mission church of San Juan Bautista March 2, 1821. The entry in the libro de matrimonios recites the fact that he had resided in California eight years by permission of the viceroy and that he had been baptized in the mission of San Carlos. With the advent of the Americanos, Don Juan lost all of his property, as did most of the rancheros, but he lived to see his rancho become the flourishing town of Gilroy.

In January 1816 the American schooners Albatross and Lydia put in to Refugio rancho, near Santa Barbara, and endeavored to land some goods. The comandante of Santa Barbara captured the Lydia and the captain and boat's crew of the Albatross. A settlement was made with the government and the smugglers released. The Lydia sailed for Monterey and on March 11, 1816, landed there Thomas W. Doak, one of the boat's crew of the Albatross. Doak remained in California and was the first American

settler. He married María Lugarda, daughter of José Mariano de Castro.* He was a native of Boston and was born in 1787.

In 1820 there were thirteen foreigners in California, viz: three Americans, two Scotchmen, two Englishmen, one Irishman, one Russian, one Portuguese, and three negroes. Foreign vessels became more frequent on the coast. California was closed to foreign trade but under pretense of entering for needed supplies vessels would take the opportunity to land a few goods and incidentally increase the census of California by losing a few of their sailors. In 1821 the port of Monterey was opened to foreign trade and the number of ships increased. In 1822 William A. Richardson, an Englishman, mate of the English whaler Orion, left the vessel at San Francisco and was permitted by Governor Sola to remain in California on condition of teaching his arts of navigation and carpentry to the young Spaniards. He was baptized June 16, 1823, as "un adulto de razon de nacion Yngles de religion protestante su edad de 27 años, natural de la ciudad de Londres,"† and on May 15, 1825, was married to Doña María Antonia, daughter of Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez, comandante of San Francisco.‡ Richardson made the first plan for the town of Yerba

* *Libro de Matrimonios*, Mision de San Juan Bautista.

† *Libro de Bautismos*, Mision de San Francisco de Asis.

‡ *Libro de Casamientos*, Mision de San Francisco de Asis.

Buena, erected the first structure there, became owner of Sausalito rancho in 1836, and was captain of the port in 1837.

Another Englishman, Robert Livermore, first settler of Livermore valley, deserted from the English brig Colonel Young. He married Josefa, daughter of José Higuera.

The opening of the port of Monterey brought an increasing number of ships for trade, American, English, Peruvian, and Russian; the Americans largely predominating; while English and American whalers came into San Francisco for supplies, anchoring at Sausalito. These ships contributed from time to time to the foreign population of California.

Meanwhile from the east and from the north hardy bands of pioneer hunters and trappers were approaching the borders of California. From the north came the trappers of the Hudson's Bay company pushing their way into the upper valley of the Sacramento river, while from the broad interior of the continent the American hunters were each year working their way further and further to the west, passing through the Rocky mountains and into the great basin, until in 1826 they approached the lofty barrier of the Sierra Nevada. The first of this army of hunters to reach California was Jedediah S. Smith, an American. With a party of fifteen Smith started from the Great Salt Lake in August 1826, traveled in a southwesterly direction, passed into California below Death valley, crossed the Mojave desert, and reached the mission

of San Gabriel in December. Leaving his men at the mission, Smith was taken before the governor (Echeandía) at San Diego to give an account of himself. He stated that he was a hunter and trapper of fur animals and that he had penetrated so far into the desert country lying to the eastward that a return by the way he had come was impossible as most of his horses had died for want of food and water. He was therefore under the necessity of pushing forward to California, it being the nearest place where he could procure supplies to enable him to return. He exhibited his passports from the government of the United States and begged permission to return by a different route to the headwaters of the Columbia river. His petition was endorsed by Wm. G. Dana, captain of the schooner Waverly, Wm. H. Cunningham, captain of the brig Olive Branch, and the mate and supercargo of the Waverly and Courier, all of whom certified to the correctness of Smith's papers and their belief in his story.* The trapper was given a passport by the governor and after several ineffectual attempts to cross the Sierra Nevada he remained in camp near San José until the melting of the snow made the passage possible. Proceeding northward in May, he crossed the sierra by the Pitt river pass near the mountain of "St. Joseph" (Lassen Peak) and reached Salt Lake in June, having eaten six of his seven horses. This is the first recorded crossing of the Sierra Nevada.

* Randolph: *Address*, p. 33-34.

In December 1827 Sylvester Pattie, a native of Kentucky, with his fifteen year old son, James Ohio Pattie, and a party of six trappers, reached the junction of the Gila and Colorado. Proceeding down the Colorado on rafts they reached tide water January 18, 1828. Burying their furs and traps they started across the desert to the Spanish settlements, and after terrible suffering reached the mission of Santa Catalina in Lower California on March 12th. They were sent to Echeandía at San Diego under guard, reaching there May 27th. The governor refused to accept their story. They were locked up in separate cells where the elder Pattie died a month later. The boy received kindness from the sergeant, and his beautiful sister, whom he calls "Miss Peaks," and was ultimately released.*

The Californians now began to welcome the foreigners—in small doses—and to assimilate them, yet the laws were strict in requiring them to show passports and submit to surveillance. In 1827-8 more stringent orders relative to passports were received from Mexico, and the California authorities were required to render monthly accounts of new arrivals. They were also instructed to grant the foreigners no lands and not permit them to form settlements on the coast or on the islands. Both Americans and Russians were to be located in the central parts of the province. The Russians had gradually advanced their stations

*Bancroft: *Hist. Cal.* iii, 162. (The sergeant of the garrison at that time was José Antonio Bernardino Pico, brother of Pio Pico).

until they had established trading posts at Fort Ross and Bodega, a few miles above San Francisco. In 1828 the Mexican government authorized the granting of lands in California to such foreigners as could comply with all the requirements of law. Among these was baptism into the Roman Catholic faith and naturalization as Mexican citizens.

The Californians treated the foreigners with unexampled generosity and kindness; they gave them their daughters in marriage and lands on which to pasture their cattle. The masters and supercargoes of American vessels trading on the coast were especially favored by them. The Californian did nothing by halves. When he gave his confidence he gave it fully and finally. The Americans who came early were for the most part superior men; they amalgamated with the Spaniards; their interests became identical, and they did not as a rule, prove ungrateful.

During the latter part of the third decade of the nineteenth century rumors were spread throughout the settlements of the western frontier of the United States of a fairy land beyond the mountains; a land whose shores were gently caressed by the sparkling waters of the Pacific; where, under genial skies, life was easy and farms could be had for the asking. Returning trappers brought wonderful tales of the country and these stories were confirmed and supplemented by letters received from friends long settled in California. Dr. John Marsh, a native of

Massachusetts and graduate of Harvard college, who came to California in 1836 and had obtained a great rancho,* wrote to friends in Missouri most glowing accounts of the country and urged immigration thither. In May 1841 a company was organized at Independence, Missouri, for emigration to California. Talbot H. Green was made president, John Bidwell secretary, and John Bartleson captain. Among the company were Charles M. Weber, Josiah Belden, Joseph B. Chiles, Robert Hickman, and others well known in California. They were joined by a party of emigrants bound for Oregon. The expedition began its march May 19, 1841, taking its way up the north fork of the Platte, up the Sweetwater, through South pass, up a branch of the Green river into Bear river valley, and down the Bear to Soda springs. Here the party separated, the Oregon emigrants taking the trail along the Snake river while those for California moved down the Bear. Twelve of the California party joined the Oregonians, their hearts failing before the terrors of a journey across an unknown desert. Bartleson understood that they must find a stream called the Mary's river somewhere in the desert to the west, which would lead them to within sight of the Sierra Nevada. Failing to find this stream they would perish in the desert. There were now left in Bartleson's camp thirty-two men, one woman and a child—the wife and daughter of Benjamin Kelsey, one of their num-

* Los Médanos, four leagues, in Contra Costa county.

ber. On August 12th they camped at a mountain spring and two of the party proceeded westward to find Mary's river. Their beef meat had now given out and they killed one of the oxen for food. On September 5th they moved slowly forward meeting the scouts on the ninth, and on the fifteenth decided to abandon the wagons and such property as could not be packed on animals. On the twenty-third they crossed the east Humboldt range and reached the south fork of the Humboldt river,* or as it was then called, the Mary. Traveling down the valley of the Humboldt, the route of the Central Pacific railroad, they reached the sink of the Humboldt October 7th. Thence traveling in a southerly direction they reached Walker river and crossed the Sierra Nevada by the Sonora pass.† On October 30th they were on the head waters of the Stanislaus river, and on November 4th arrived at Dr. Marsh's rancho on the San Joaquin. This was the first overland expedition from the Missouri river to California.

The newspapers of the United States had announced preparations for a large emigration to California and stated that it was a step towards the inevitable annexation of the country. Extracts from these papers were forwarded from Washington to Mexico and the Mexican representatives abroad

* Jedediah Smith who was, perhaps, the discoverer of the river, named it the Mary, for his Indian wife. It was also called the Ogden, from Peter Skeen Ogden, a brigade leader of the Hudson's Bay company.

† Statement of Josiah Belden, Bancroft Collection. Bancroft: *Hist. Cal.* iv. 268-272.

were notified that any person going to California without the consent, in due form, of the Mexican consular or diplomatic agent, would do so at his peril, and orders were sent to California that no foreign emigrants were to be permitted to remain in the country except those who were provided with legal passports and even those settled there must furnish letters of security or leave the country.* These were the regulations in force when the Bartleson party arrived at Los Médanos. On the following day Marsh notified the sub-prefect of their arrival and said they would, after resting, present themselves to the authorities and prove their lawful intentions. General Vallejo, commanding on the northern frontier, requested Marsh to give an account of his conduct in inviting such an immigration, and ordered the immigrants arrested and brought to him at Mission San José, where they declared their intention of becoming lawful citizens of Mexico and alleged their ignorance of any necessity for passports. Notwithstanding his express orders Vallejo decided to assume the responsibility of granting temporary permits to serve to legalize their residence and he took bonds of well known citizens for their good behavior. The immigrants speak well of the kindness shown them by Vallejo and other Californians. Another party of overland emigrants under Workman and Rowland came by the Santa Fé route

* Statement of Josiah Belden, Bancroft Collection, Bancroft: *Hist. Cal.* iv, 264.

and reached California November 10th. Among them was Benjamin D. Wilson ("Don Benito"), well known in California. A small party came from Oregon and reached Sutter's fort in October of that year.

In June 1839 the brigantine *Clementine*, Captain Blinn, arrived from Honolulu by way of Sitka, having on board John A. Sutter and his party, consisting of four or five Swiss mechanics and several Hawaiians with their wives. Sutter came with the purpose of establishing a large colony of his countrymen in the Sacramento valley. Nathan Spear sent Sutter and his party up the Sacramento river with his goods in two schooners and a four oared boat, under command of William Heath Davis. Sutter had two pieces of artillery and other arms and ammunition. The fleet left Yerba Buena August 9, 1839, and traveled eight days up the river. Entering the American river, Sutter landed, pitched his tents on the south bank, mounted his brass cannon, and made ready his small arms for defense against the Indians. Davis says that Sutter told him that he would immediately build a fort as defense against the Indians and also against the government of California in case any hostility should be manifested in that quarter. He also said he intended to import a large colony of Swiss and develop the Sacramento valley.*

Sutter obtained a grant of land from Governor Alvarado and built his fort on rising ground about two miles from the embarcadero, as the landing on

* Davis: *Sixty Years in California*, 16-18.

the Sacramento river (now the city of Sacramento) was called. It was a parallelogram, five hundred feet long by one hundred and fifty wide, built of adobe with double walls; the outer wall eighteen or twenty feet high and the inner, somewhat less. The space between the walls, twenty-five feet, was roofed and used for store rooms, stables, etc. In the center was the captain's residence, a two-story adobe building. Sutter agreed to protect the Spanish settlements from the raids of Indians from the Sacramento valley and his fort, being the first post of civilization reached by overland immigrants coming by the central route, became the refuge and rallying point for Americans and other foreigners. He gathered about him a trained body of white men and Indians and, as a Mexican officer (*juez de paz*), stopped the fur-hunting brigades of the Hudson's Bay company from further descent into the Sacramento valley.³⁰

In 1840 Governor Alvarado becoming alarmed by the actions of some American settlers ordered the arrest of all foreigners. Some fifty or sixty men were arrested and sent to San Blas under charge of General Castro. The Mexican government disavowed the action of the governor, ordered the men released, returned to California, and compensated for the trouble and inconvenience to which they had been put.

There can be no doubt that the acquisition of California had for some time been considered by the government at Washington, or that the attention

of some of the European governments had been directed to the desirability of such a possession. As far back as 1793 Vancouver pointed out the ease with which this delightful country could be acquired. Rezánof, Russian envoy, wrote in 1806: "The Spanish are very weak in these countries, and if, in 1798, when war was declared by Spain, we had had a force corresponding to its proportions, it would have been very easy to seize a portion of California." France sent several expeditions to California, and the English consuls at Pacific ports, notably Alexander Forbes at Mazatlan and James Alexander Forbes at Monterey, urged the taking of California for the debt due England by Mexico.

In the summer of 1842, Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, in command of the Pacific squadron, was in the harbor of Callao with the frigate *United States*, sloops *Cyane*, *Dale*, and *Yorktown* and schooner *Shark*. The English had a fleet in the Pacific in every way superior, while the French had, in the same waters, a fleet equal to both the English and American combined. Jones' instructions were to protect the commerce of the United States, the flag from insult, and citizens from oppression. In May 1842 the French fleet sailed from Valparaiso, destination unknown, but Jones thought it might be California. On September 3d the English admiral sailed from Callao with three men-of-war, under sealed orders just received from England. At the same time Jones received a letter from John Parrott,

United States consul at Mazatlan, dated June 22d, in which he stated that war with Mexico was imminent, and he enclosed a Boston newspaper containing an item to the effect that Mexico had ceded California to England for \$7,000,000. After consultation with the United States charge d'affaires at Lima, Jones put to sea with the United States, Cyane, and Dale. Sending the Dale to Panama with dispatches, Jones proceeded with the other two vessels under full sail for Monterey which he reached October 19th and anchored at 2 p. m. under the guns of the castillo.

With full realization of his responsibility Jones sent Captain Armstrong ashore at 4 p. m. with a flag of truce to demand a surrender of the post to the United States, "to avoid the sacrifice of human life and the horrors of war." The demand was presented to Alvarado who was given until 9 o'clock the next morning to consider the proposition. Resistance to such a force was useless and before the hour named articles of capitulation were signed.

At 11 a. m. on the 20th Jones landed one hundred and fifty men under Commander Stribling; the garrison marched out of the fort with music and with colors flying and gave up their arms at the government house. The American force took possession of the castillo and raised the stars and stripes. The frigate and sloop fired a salute and the guns of the fort replied.*

* Bancroft: *Hist. of Cal.* iv, 256-329.

Jones soon learned that he had made a mistake; that relations between the United States and Mexico were friendly, and that there was no truth in the rumored cession to England. He apologized, restored the post to the Mexican officials, saluted the Mexican flag, and sailed away. His act was disavowed by the United States government and he was ordered home for trial. He was later exonerated from all blame by the secretary of the navy.

This action by the United States naval commander was considered indicative of the purpose of that government to take possession of California, and the Forbes' and other Englishmen redoubled their efforts for an English protectorate or annexation. Meanwhile immigration from the United States continued and notwithstanding the feeling against Americans in Mexico, they were treated with kindness and hospitality by the authorities in California. In the Sacramento valley the Americans became so numerous that they began to consider the country theirs and resented the restrictions and requirements of Mexican law. In the revolt of Alvarado against Micheltorena in 1844-5, the Americans took a hand, and Sutter marched with Micheltorena against Alvarado and Castro with a force of one hundred foreign riflemen—mostly Americans, one hundred trained Indians, and eight or ten artillerymen in charge of a brass field piece. To oppose Sutter's riflemen Alvarado raised a company of fifty foreigners in the south. The opposing armies with their for-

eign contingents met in the San Fernando valley, near Los Angeles, February 21, 1845, and after two days cannonading, during which a horse had his head blown off and a mule was wounded, Micheltorena proposed terms of capitulation. At the commencement of the action the foreigners on both sides, by agreement, retired from their several parties, leaving the Californians to fight the battle alone.* Before marching to the aid of Governor Micheltorena, Sutter took the precaution to secure from him large grants of land for his followers.

In September 1845 the Mexican government sent to California positive orders prohibiting the entry of Americans from Oregon or Missouri. Immigrants were summoned to appear before the prefect and the comandante-general. The order was read to them and the immigrants protested that their intentions were lawful; that they had not been informed that passports were necessary; that it was impossible to cross the mountains during the winter, and they promised that if permitted to remain until spring they would obey the laws in every particular and would then go away if license was denied them. Castro considered the hardship to the women and children if the immigrants were compelled to leave the department during the winter season, and he compromised his duty with the sentiment of hospitality so strong in the breast of every Californian and granted them temporary permits, taking bonds

* Robinson: *Life in California*, 218-219.

to insure their good behavior and their departure in the spring, should license to remain be refused. Meanwhile they were to remain under surveillance of the Vallejos at Sonoma and Napa and of Captain Sutter on the Sacramento. It does not appear that this matter was carried any further—certainly the settlers did not leave California—and Bancroft says that both General Vallejo at Sonoma and Salvador Vallejo at Napa treated the settlers with great benevolence, without which they could not have gotten through the winter.*

How well the consideration of the California officials was requited by the Americans is told in the story of the Bear Flag revolt. Encouraged by the presence of Captain John C. Frémont, of the United States topographical engineers, a party of armed Americans under Ezekiel Merritt, took possession of the town of Sonoma on June 14, 1846, made prisoners of General Vallejo, his brother Salvador, Lieut.-Colonel Prudon and Jacob P. Leese, sent them under guard to Sutter's fort, raised the Bear Flag, and proclaimed the "California Republic." Frémont, with a party of sixty armed men, was engaged in an exploring expedition and had come into California to rest and recruit his men. Obtaining permission to encamp for that purpose in the San Joaquin valley, he had brought his men into the Salinas, to the very doors of Monterey. In consequence of this move and in obedience to orders from

* Several of these men took part in the Bear Flag affair the following June.

Mexico, he was directed by the authorities to leave the department at once. Frémont chose to consider this an insult, and withdrawing to the summit of the Gavilan mountains, he erected fortifications, raised over them the American flag, and announced his purpose to hold the position or die in defense of it.* Later he withdrew to the Sacramento valley and started for Oregon, but returned in May to the upper Sacramento, and remained quiet, watching the movements of the disaffected settlers. He was asked to take command of the contemplated rising but declined to commit himself, though he afterwards claimed to be the head and front of the revolt, and that Merritt and other leaders among the Americans were acting under his instructions.† Moving nearer to the "seat of war," Frémont and his party were encamped at the embarcadero on the Sacramento river when the prisoners were brought before him. He declined to receive them. General Vallejo demanded to know why and by whose authority he had been arrested and dragged from his home. Frémont denied that he was in any way responsible for what had been done, declaring that they were prisoners of the people who had been driven to revolt for self-protection. The prisoners were taken to Sutter's fort where they were imprisoned for two months. Thus did the foreigners return the kind-

* "If unjustly attacked we will fight to extremity and refuse quarter."
Frémont to Larkin, March 9, 1846.

† Frémont: *Memoir of My Life*, i, 509.

ness and forbearance of the owners of the soil. Of all the Californians, Vallejo was most friendly to the Americans, was favorable to American ascendancy, and believed that the best interests of his country lay in its absorption by the United States.³¹

In the spring of 1846 the Mormons driven from Nauvoo began their western pilgrimage, and Sam Brannan, Mormon preacher and elder, sailed from New York with about two hundred saints for San Francisco. Believing that the United States government would take California the Mormon leaders laid before the Washington authorities a proposition to colonize that country with ten or twelve thousand Mormons, then at Nauvoo, and bring forty thousand more from the British islands, giving the president assurance that the patriotism and fidelity of the Mormons to the United States government could be fully relied upon. Meanwhile the war with Mexico broke out and General Kearny was ordered with his command from Fort Leavenworth to California by the Santa Fé route. The offer of the Mormons was rejected, but Kearny was authorized to enlist from among the Mormons who desired to go to California, five companies of one hundred men each, for one year's service. The vanguard of the Mormon advance had now reached Council Bluffs, on the Missouri river, and here the men were enlisted. This was the Mormon battalion which, under Lieut. Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, reached California in January 1847.

The founders of the "California Republic" were beginning to feel somewhat uneasy regarding the fate of their undertaking when on the 7th of July 1846, Commodore Sloat landed his men at Monterey, raised the United States flag, and took formal possession of California. This terminated the embarrassment of the Bear Flag party. The movement had been an ill-advised one, an unnecessary and utterly unwarranted interference with a people from whom they had received nothing but kindness and hospitality. Their conduct at this time and later created such a feeling of antagonism towards Americans as made difficult the pacification of the country. The better class of Californians had long realized the fact that the province would be infinitely better off under either English or American rule and would have accepted the change with relief. General Kearny says in his official report from Monterey March 15, 1847. † * * * "The Californians are now quiet, and I shall endeavor to keep them so by mild and gentle treatment. Had they received such treatment from the time our flag was hoisted here, in July last, I believe there would have been but little or no resistance on their part. They have been most cruelly and shamefully abused by our own people—by the volunteers (American emigrants) raised in this part of the country and on the Sacramento. Had they not resisted they would have been unworthy the name of men."³²

† *Executive Doc. No. 17, H. of R. 31st Cong. 1st Sess. p. 284.*

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I cannot, in this place, go into the history of the Conquest. With the return of peace the country settled down to the quiet life of a rural people. Everything was peaceful and dull, until suddenly, when no man expected, there came a change of transcendent magnitude.

NOTES

NOTE I
SAN CÁRLOS BORROMEO

Some years ago, on proper representation being made to the government, the war department issued the following:

"GENERAL ORDER No. 142.

"War Department, Washington, August 29, 1904.

"The following order is published to the Army for the information and guidance of all concerned.

"War Department, Washington, August 25, 1904:

"By the direction of the President, the cantonment on the military reservation at Monterey, Cal. named Ord Barracks by War Department order of July 10, 1903, will hereafter be known as the Presidio of Monterey, in perpetuation of the name of the first Spanish military station in California.

WILLIAM H. TAFT,
Secretary of War."

The presidio and mission of San Carlos Borromeo were formally established by Portolá June 3, 1770, the religious ceremony being conducted by Junípero Serra, president of the California missions. In 1771 or 1772 the mission was moved from its original site near the presidio to the Rio del Carmelo, about one league distant. In 1777 Monterey was made the capital of the Californias—Alta and Baja California being united under one governor—and with the exception of a few years when the seat of government was at Los Angeles it remained the capital of Alta California until the American occupation.

Count Carlos Borromeo, for whom the presidio and mission were named, was an Italian nobleman, son of the Count of Arona and nephew of Pope Pius IV. He was born in Arona October 2, 1538. At the age of twenty-

two he was created cardinal and soon after made archbishop of Milan. He devoted much time to reforming abuses which had grown up in the church and to the establishment of seminaries, colleges, and communities for the education of candidates for holy orders. To the people he was ever the friend and counselor. His life was spent in their service; in succoring the sick; in relieving distress whenever and wherever he found it. His heart, his hand, and his purse were always open. In 1576 when Milan was visited by the plague, he went about giving directions for accommodating the sick and burying the dead, avoiding no danger and sparing no expense. He visited all the neighboring parishes where the contagion raged, distributing money, providing accommodations for the sick, and punishing those, especially the clergy, who were remiss in discharging their duties. Moving calmly amid the panic stricken people "he was brave where all others were cowards, full of compassion where pity had been crushed out of all other breasts by the instinct of self preservation gone mad with terror; cheering all, praying with all, helping all with hand, brain, and purse; at a time when parents forsook their children, the friend deserted the friend, and the brother turned away from the sister while her pleadings were still wailing in his ears."*

The reforms instituted by Borromeo were fiercely opposed by the civil authorities and by several religious orders. The governor and many of the senators addressed remonstrances to the courts of Rome and Madrid, and a conspiracy, which failed, was formed against his life. His manifold labors and austerities appear, however, to have shortened his life. He was seized with an intermittent fever, and died at Milan on the 4th of

*Mark Twain: *The Innocents Abroad*. Autograph Ed. 231-2.

November 1584. He was canonized in 1610, and his day is November 4th. Contrary to his last wishes a memorial was erected to him in Milan cathedral, as well as a statue seventy feet high on the hill above Arona.

NOTE 2

PUNTA DE LOS REYES

"The Kings of Tarshish and of the Isles shall bring presents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts" (*Ps. lxxii, 10*). The Three Kings of Cologne: Kaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar—the three wise men of the East—are honored at the feast of the Epiphany as the first of the pagans to whom the birth of the Messiah was announced.

On the 16th of November 1542, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese "very conversant with matters of the sea," in command of the *San Salvador* (flag ship) and *La Victoria*, vessels sent by the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, to explore the northern coasts of New Spain, found himself upon a large gulf that looked like a harbor and after beating about this gulf all that day and night and the day following without finding any river or shelter, cast his anchor in forty fathoms in order to take possession of the land. They called the great gulf *La Bahia de los Pinos*, and Professor George Davidson has identified it as the Gulf of the Farallones. So far as I know, they gave no name to the cape that marks its northern point. The next visitor of whom we have record was Francis Drake who anchored in the little bay under Punta de los Reyes June 17, 1579. He gave the point no name although the bay bears his. Next came Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, whose ship, the *San Agustin*, was lost here in 1595. It remained for Sebastian Vizcaino, to whom we are indebted for so many beautiful names, to honor the Three Kings of Cologne by naming for them the Punta de los Reyes.

"The Capitana (Flag-ship, San Diego) and Fragata (Tres Reyes) had no sooner left the harbor of Monterey (January 3, 1603) to seek for the Cabo de Mendocino, than they had a formidable wind which lasted to the sixth of January, the day of Los Santos Reyes, and carried them beyond the Puerto de San Francisco (Drake's bay), and the day after that of Los Reyes, which was the 7th of January, the wind suddenly shifted to the northwest and blew somewhat fiercely but they were able to make some headway; and the Fragata concluding there was no necessity to seek a harbor from this wind, continued her voyage, but Vizcaino returned with the Capitana to the Puerto de San Francisco to await the return of the Fragata * * * and learn if anything was to be found of the ship San Agustin which came upon the coast in 1595, * * * and was wrecked and driven on shore by a contrary wind. * * *

"The Capitana came to anchor behind a point of land which makes this port, and which he (Vizcaino) called La Punta de los Reyes."*

*Venegas: *Noticia de la California*.

NOTE 3

ORTEGA

José Francisco Ortega, the discover of the bay of San Francisco, was born in the city of Celayo, in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico, in 1734. He enlisted in the company of the royal presidio of Loreto (Lower California), October 1, 1755; was made a corporal August 3, 1756, and a sergeant February 8, 1757. On the 14th of August 1773, Ortega was made a lieutenant and assigned to the command of San Diego. During this year Junípero Serra, who had quarreled with Captain Fages, the comandante of California, made a trip to the city of Mexico to induce the viceroy, Bucaréli, to recall Fages, and he wished him to appoint Ortega to the command, saying that the señores of the regular army were unfitted by education and training for the peculiar duties required of a commander of a frontier department "not being versed in the service of the *soldados de cuera*, totally different from that of the other troops." Bucaréli agreed to recall Fages, realizing that to obtain the best results from the reduction of California there must be harmony between the military and religious branches of the government. He demurred however, to the appointment of Ortega, urging want of rank, but probably not wishing to have a comandante too much under the influence of the venerable priest. Junípero said that the objection regarding Ortega's want of rank was easily overcome, but Bucaréli settled the matter by appointing Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, the commander of the presidio of Loreto, and Ortega was given his lieutenancy and sent to San Diego. While Ortega was in command at San Diego there occurred the first serious

trouble with the Indians of California. On the night of November 4-5, 1775, without warning, a body of eight or ten hundred savages attacked the mission, burned the church and other buildings, and killed one of the priests, a carpenter, and a blacksmith. The mission guard finally beat them off but not until all the soldiers were badly wounded. Ortega was absent at the time, having gone with about one half of his force to establish the mission of San Juan Capistrano. Being notified by messenger of the disaster, he at once returned and took active measures to repress the revolt.

In 1781 Ortega founded the presidio of Santa Barbara where he served as comandante until 1784. In 1782 he founded the mission of San Buenaventura. From 1784 to 1787 he served on the frontier in various excursions and explorations, and in September 1787 was assigned to the command of Monterey. Here he served until 1791 when he was transferred to Loreto where he succeeded Captain Arrillaga, later governor of California, and in 1795 was retired as brevet captain and attached to the Santa Barbara presidio. He died February 3, 1798, and was buried in the Santa Barbara mission.

The blood of this interesting pioneer of California flows in the veins of many prominent families of the state, as the De la Guerra, Bandini, Wilcox, More, Vallejo, Carrillo, Castro, and others will testify. His sons became ranchero princes and his granddaughters wives of governors. His wife was María Antonia Victoria Carrillo, who outlived him, dying May 8, 1803.

NOTE 4

SAN BUENAVENTURA

San Buenaventura (Giovanni de Fidenza) was born in Bagnorea, Italy, in 1221; died in Lyons, France, July 15, 1274. He became general of the Franciscans in 1256 and was canonized in 1482. He was greatly beloved and received the title of *doctor serafico*. When the settlement of California was decided on, it was ordered that a mission should be established at San Diego bay, one at Monterey bay, and one to be known as San Buenaventura, in honor of the *doctor serafico*, at a point to be selected between the two. The mission was founded by Junípero Serra March 31, 1782, in presence of the governor, Don Felipe de Neve, the troops being under command of Lieutenant Don José Francisco de Ortega. A thriving town of thirty-five hundred inhabitants is the result of that establishment. The postal authorities some years ago changed the name to Ventura.

NOTE 5

DON PEDRO FAGES

Don Pedro Fages, first comandante and fourth governor of California, was born in Catalonia, Spain, and came to Mexico in 1767 with the First battalion, Second regiment, Catalonia Volunteers, in which he held the rank of lieutenant. In the autumn of 1768 he joined the California expedition by order of Galvez, being appointed *jefe de las armas* to the expedition, and with twenty-five of his men, sailed for San Diego bay on the ill-fated San Carlos. While still weak and sick from the scurvy he joined Portolá on his march to Monterey; and also accompanied him on his second expedition in 1770, which founded the presidio and mission of Monterey, when he was appointed by Portolá comandante of California. In November 1770, he made a brief exploring trip to the bay of San Francisco, going perhaps as far as San Leandro creek on the Alameda coast, while his men pushed on to Carquines strait. He was made a captain May 4, 1771, and in 1772 he explored the eastern and southern coasts of San Francisco, San Pablo, and Suisun bays, and the San Joaquin river. He gave the name of Rio de San Francisco to the waters now known as the straits of Carquines, Suisun bay, and San Joaquin river. In 1773 Junípero Serra, with whom he had quarreled, procured his recall and he was ordered to join his battalion at Real de Minas de Pachuca, Mexico. He turned over his command to Rivera March 24, 1774, and sailed with his Catalans for Mexico; the places of the infantrymen being filled with *soldados de cuera* brought by Rivera.

In a subsequent letter to the viceroy Serra expresses regret for the removal of Fages, commendation for his services, and a desire that he be favored by the government.

Fages made two trips to the Rio Colorado in 1781-2 to punish the Yumas for the massacre and destruction of the Colorado missions, and on July 12, 1782, was appointed governor of California, having previously been made a lieutenant-colonel, and reached the capital, Monterey, the following November. In 1789 he was made a colonel. He was retired at his own request April 16, 1791, and died in Mexico in 1796. His wife was Doña Eulalia Calis, whom he married in Catalonia. One child, María del Carmen, was born in San Francisco August 3, 1784.

Don Pedro Fages was a pioneer of pioneers, a brave soldier, and undaunted explorer and a gallant and picturesque figure of early California. He is described in his latter days as a tall, stout man of generous, open disposition, very fond of children, who used to search his pockets for the cakes and confections (*dulces*) with which he used to fill them for their delight.

NOTE 6

THE SAN CÁRLOS *Alias* EL TOISON
DE ORO (GOLDEN FLEECE)

As the first ship to enter the port of San Francisco the packet San Cárls is entitled to notice here. We are told that the two paquebots, San Cárls and San Antonio, were built in 1768 at the newly constructed dock yards of San Blas, by order of the Most Illustrious Señor Don José de Galvez, visitador-general of New Spain, for the contemplated expedition to San Diego and Monterey. Costansó, engineer and officer of the regular army, who accompanied the expedition, says that in all the coasts of New Spain the only maritime forces that could be used to oppose foreign invasion were these two packets and two other vessels of smaller tonnage which served the Jesuit missionaries of Baja California in their communications with the coasts of Sonora and New Galicia. The two packets made their maiden voyages in March 1768, sailing from San Blas with troops for Guaymas. Returning to San Blas they were ordered to La Paz, Lower California, to take on a portion of the California expedition and stores for the new foundations. The San Cárls reached La Paz December 15th, leaking badly from the rough handling of the seas. Under the forceful supervision of the señor visitador she was careened, her gaping seams closed, and on January 10th sailed, under command of Don Vicente Vila, for San Diego bay, the rendezvous of the expedition. She carried Lieutenant Fages and his company of infantry, Engineer Costansó, Surgeon Pratt, and for the spiritual care of all, the very reverend Father Fray Fernando Parron.

Owing to the constancy of the north and northwest winds which so greatly opposed the navigation of the coasts of California, the *San Carlos* found herself driven far out of her course, short of water, and obliged to put into the island of Cedros for a fresh supply. At last on April 29th, she reached San Diego in a most deplorable condition, all hands sick with scurvy, of which two had died, and only four sailors able to keep the deck. The *San Antonio* had arrived eighteen days before in much the same condition, but seeing no signs of the other divisions of the expedition, had made no attempt to land. Encouraged now by the presence of her consort an exploring party was sent out to find water and preparations were made to land the sick. Hospital tents were erected on the beach, protected by palisades, the sick removed to them and all that could be was done for them. No one was well and the labor of the few who remained on their feet was very great and rapidly increased as their numbers lessened; while of the sick several died every day, until of all who had sailed on the two ships two-thirds were laid under the sands of Punta de los Muertos (Deadmen's Point). The Indians, of whom there were many, were a miserable lot, thievish and impudent, and altogether the colonists found themselves in a most critical situation. Their medicines were gone and but very little food was left when on May 14th, the first division of the land expedition under Rivera arrived. Rivera was also short of provisions but his men were all well and his arrival changed the aspect of the camp of desolation. It was determined to send the *San Antonio* back for supplies; all the available sailors were placed on her and she sailed for San Blas June 8th with eight men for a crew. On June 29th the second land division under Portolá arrived with one hundred and sixty-three mules laden with provisions. On July 14th Portolá began

**THE SAN CÁRLOS ENTERING THE BAY OF
SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST 5, 1775**

The first ship to enter the port.
Drawn by WALTER FRANCIS.

of the north and north-
west, and the navigation of
the Gulf of Fund Berdidi driv-
ing the water, and obliged to put
out for a fresh supply. At last
they made in a most deplorable
condition, with a navy, of which two had
been able to keep the deck. The
last fifteen days before in much
the same no signs of the other divi-
sion had made no attempt to land.
The presence of her consort an ex-
hausted to find water and preparations
for the sick. The tents were erected
by poles, the sick removed
to the shore was gone for them. No
the San Carlos entered the Bay of
San Francisco August 2, 1775
The first ship to enter the port
Drawn by Walter Francis
of the two ships two-
of Puerto de los Muertos
of whom there were
of them and impatient,
found themselves in a most
the lines were gone and but
when on May 14th, the first
under Rivera arrived.
his men were all
of the aspect of the camp of
the San Antonio
all the available sailors were placed
San Blas June 8th with eight
the second and division
and six y-three
On July 1st Puerto began



his march to Monterey leaving his sick under protection of a guard, and the San Carlos swinging at her cables without a sailor to her deck.

The voyage of the San Carlos in 1775 for the survey of the bay of San Francisco is told in chapter ii of the narrative.

On the 5th of June 1776, the San Carlos sailed from Monterey for San Francisco under command of Don Fernando Quiros, lieutenant of man-of-war, having on board a portion of the soldiers for the San Francisco presidio, two cannon and other arms, and the supplies for the presidio and mission. The distance was only eighty-five miles and she made it in seventy-three days. Entering the port of San Francisco August 18th, Quiros at once landed his men and the work of erecting the presidio buildings was pushed with vigor.

In August 1779 the San Carlos, under command of Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, sailed for Manila where Ayala was transferred to another ship and returned to New Spain in 1781.

It is possible that the San Carlos was wrecked in the Philippines or she may have been broken up, and another ship, larger and better equipped, built to take her place, as a paquebot, San Carlos, was later engaged in naval service on the northwestern coast of America. The fact that this San Carlos was also called "El Filipino," while the *alias* of the original packet was "El Toison de Oro," would seem to indicate that the San Carlos of 1788-1797 was a ship built in the Philippines. In view of the record here given of the different voyages of the original San Carlos, viz.: La Paz to San Diego, 110 days; San Blas to Monterey, 101 days; Monterey to San Francisco (1776) 73 days, it must be admitted that she was ill-fitted for her work. She was small—of the caravel type—high poop and low waist—and had three

masts, two with square sails and one with mizzen as well as a sprit sail on bowsprit.

The packet San Carlos alias El Filipino was lost in San Francisco bay March 31, 1797.

[Fray Zepherin Englehardt, in his book just out (*Missions and Missionaries of California*) says that the San Carlos, a vessel built in the Philippines, arrived thence, at San Diego, December 9, 1781, under command of Juan Gonzales.]

NOTE 7
ARIZONA

Anza writing January 13, 1775, says: "This place (Arizona) is famous for the balls of virgin silver found in 1736 which weighed up to one hundred and fifty arrobas (3750 lbs.) The fact has been doubted but it is certain, and many are living of those who possessed them and I can equally give documents which accredit it; since my father, acting by advice of persons learned in the law, attached them because it appeared to him they belonged to his majesty, and while his action was not entirely approved by the tribunal at the city of Mexico, it was by the royal council of Castile."

Arizona, or as it was sometimes written Arizonac was a *real de minas*, (mining camp), in the Arizona mountains on the head waters of the Rio del Altar just below the boundary line of Arizona, to which territory it gave its name, about ten or twelve miles east of Nogales. The mines were called Las Bolas de Plata—The Balls of Silver. The discovery of these wonderful deposits created great excitement and brought a crowd of treasure seekers into the district. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, father of the explorer, who was in command of the presidio of Fronteras and acted as judge and recorder of the district, claimed that the deposits did not constitute a mine proper but were hidden treasure or a *criadero de plata*—growing place of silver—and as such were not subject to denouncement, but belonged to the king. In this he was sustained by royal decree of May 28, 1741, but by that time the deposits were about exhausted and the Apaches had driven the miners out. The bolas, which were of almost pure silver, weighed from twelve pounds to a ton and a half.

NOTE 8

EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO

Padre José Ortega of the Company of Jesus has given us in his *Breve Elogio del Padre Kino*, a fairly comprehensive account of the life and adventures of the famous explorer and missionary, Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino. In addition to this we have the diary of Lieutenant Mange, his escort from 1694 to 1701.

Eusebio Kino or Kuhne was born in Trent in the Austrian Tyrol about 1640 and educated at Ala in Tyrol. Recovering from a serious illness through the intercession of San Francisco Xavier, patron of the Indies, he adopted that saint's name, incorporating it with his own, and declining the offer of a professorship of mathematics in the college of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, devoted his life to the conversion of the American Indians. He came to Mexico in 1680 or 1681 and for thirty years labored among the Indians of the Pimería, the Papaguería, the Gila, and the Colorado. Commencing his missionary work in Sonora in 1687, Kino established a number of missions in Pimería. In 1690 he made his first entrance into what is now Arizona, and in 1694 followed down the Rio Altar to the Gulf of California. In 1694, Domingo Crusati, commanding in Sonora, appointed his nephew, Juan Mateo Mange, a lieutenant in the *compañía volante* of Sonora, a guard to accompany the padre and write official reports of all his discoveries. In November 1694, Kino reached the Gila and said mass in the Casa Grande. In the autumn of 1698 Kino was requested by the viceroy to make a reconnaissance of northern Pimería and Papaguería with a view of ascertaining if supplies could be sent from that quarter to Padre Juan

María Salvatierra then operating in the peninsula of Baja California. Kino went to the Gila via San Javier del Bac, proceeded down the river some distance and then struck off to the southwest towards the gulf. From the Cerro Santa Clara (Gila range) he saw how the gulf ended at the disembogement of the Rio Colorado. From here he returned via the Camino del Diablo, thence to Caborca. On the 7th of February 1699, Kino started from the mission of Dolores on the western fork of the Sonora river and traveled in a westerly direction to San Marcelo de Sonoita; thence by way of the Camino del Diablo to the Gila, and returned via the Gila and Santa Cruz rivers to his mission—virtually Anza's route of 1774 across the Papaguería. In 1700 he started in September for the Gila via the Santa Cruz valley, journeyed down the Gila to its confluence with the Colorado, and returned over the Camino del Diablo to Sonoita, to San Luis de Bacapa, San Eduardo, Caborca, Tabutama, and San Ignacio: Anza's route of 1775-6. Kino's map, dated 1702, has often been republished, and Anza probably had a copy of it. He refers to Kino, whom he called Quino, and also to the diary of Lieutenant Mange, corrects their latitude and says he cannot find the Sierra Azul and the Rio Amarillo mentioned by Mange. Kino made his last journey over the Camino del Diablo to Las Tinajas Altas in November 1706, and climbing to the heights of the Cerro de Santa Clara gazed for the last time upon the waters of the gulf and the continent of the Californias, and then returned to his cell in the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The work of the great missionary was done, though he continued to labor with tongue and pen until his death in 1710 or 1711, at seventy years of age, twenty-four of which were in the Pimería.

NOTE 9

LAS TINAJAS ALTAS

The second, third, and fourth tanks may be reached by climbing the steep water-worn rocks on the left of the gorge, but the upper ones can only be reached by ascending to a height of several hundred feet the steep ravine on the right of the gorge and being lowered by ropes from above. The United States and Mexican Boundary Survey commission of 1891-96 replenished the water in the lower tank by siphoning from those above by means of a length of garden hose. Water can usually be found at all times in some of these tanks as there is no loss from seepage, and as the steep rock surrounds and overhangs the tanks and greatly retards evaporation, to what extent is shown by the fact that on reconnaissance by the commission from Yuma to Quitobaquita in the winter of 1893, these tanks were found nearly half full, although the rainfall at Yuma for the preceding twelve months had aggregated less than three-fourths of an inch, a remarkable deficiency even for that dry section.

Yet even here the Camino del Diablo claimed its victims. Captain Gaillard of the commission states that during the gold immigration of 1849 some of the pilgrims reached the tanks to find the water all gone, and too weak to go further, lay down and died; others reached the place in such a state of exhaustion that, unless water was found in the lower tank they were too feeble to climb to the next and perished miserably, their horrors aggravated by the thought that the water, for want of which they were dying, was but a few yards off had they but the strength to reach it. Fifty graves near the foot of the tanks,

LAS TINAJAS ALTAS—ONE OF THE UPPER TANKS

Note the overhanging walls.

Photograph by Captain D. D. GAILLARD.

LAS TINAJAS ALTAS—THE LOWER TANK

Photograph by Captain D. D. GAILLARD of the Boundary
Commission.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SAN FRANCISCO

NOTE 9

LAS TINAJAS ALTAS

and fourth tanks may be reached by ascending the steep water-worn rocks on the left of the ravine. The lower ones can only be reached by ascending the steep face of the ravine several hundred feet the steep ravine on the right side of the gorge and being lowered by ropes from the top of the gorge. The United States and Mexican Boundary Commission of 1894-96 replenished the water in the lower tanks by supplying from those above by means of a system of pipes. In some of the smaller tanks there is no loss from evaporation and overhanging rocks and great evaporation, to what extent the water in the lower tanks is replenished by the rain is not known. The water in the lower tanks is usually half full, although at Yuma for the preceding twelve months it has fallen to one-fourth of an inch, a remarkable fact in this dry section.

... Camino del Diablo claimed
... of the commission states
... of 1847 some of the pr
... the water all gone, and too
... and died; others reached the
... exhaustion that, unless water was
... they were too feeble to climb to the
... ably, their horrors aggravated by
... water, for want of which they
... few yards off had they but the str
... graves near the foot of the t



marked by rough stones piled in the form of a cross, testify to the numbers of these victims.*

At the Tinajas Altas Anza tells us a wonderful story of the mountain sheep and their horns. The Boundary commission notes the quantity of these horns near the Tinajas Altas and the Cabaza Prieta and says: "Many years ago the Papagos were accustomed to camp at these tinajas for the purpose of hunting big horns or mountain sheep which then, as now, constituted the principal inhabitants of these desolate sierras. In the vicinity of the tanks are still seen the remains of their old camps, around which are strewn the horns of the mountain sheep, as many as twenty or thirty pairs having been counted at a single camp." The horns however were there for a purpose, and Anza explains it to us, but in terms so extraordinary as to be unintelligible to me until, after much investigation, I succeeded, with the aid of Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in getting light upon the matter. It appears that there was an ancient superstition among the Pimas and Papagos that the horns of the mountain sheep exerted an influence on the air and the rains. They never brought the horns home but piled them in some place in the hills near the aguages where they held in check the evil influences of the elements, and no one was permitted to disturb or remove them.

*Gaillard: *Perils and Wonders of a True Desert.*

NOTE 10
CAPTAIN FEO

The principal in the move to oppose the passage of the river by the Spaniards was the chief of a tribe, kindred with the Yumas and subject to them, to whom the Spaniards gave the name of Captain Feo on account of his ugly (*feo*) looks. The men under Captain Feo's command were about as numerous as those under Palma. He is described as a great preacher, with a thick voice, given to long harangues, and was suspected also of being a sorcerer. He set himself to count the Spaniards and seeing there were but few of them told his people that it would not be difficult to kill them and take their horses and property. Anza sent him warning that if he began hostilities against the Spaniards they would bring sufficient force against him to destroy him.

NOTE 12

THE ROYAL PASS OF SAN CÁRLOS

Desde esta sitio se comienza á atravesar la cordillera que forma la Peninsula de la California. "From this place one must begin to cross the cordillera that forms the peninsula of California," writes Anza December 19th, from the *paraje* of San Gregorio at the entrance to the Coyote cañon.

I am sorry I cannot agree with the historians who have so well told the story of this remarkable journey and take this expedition through the Coahuila valley and over the San Gorgonio pass; but to do so I would have to turn them in a different direction from that in which they said they traveled and make them march eighty odd miles through the desert sands to reach the San Gorgonio pass when they say they only traveled forty-eight miles up a mountain trail to the pass of San Carlos. No one who reads Anza's diary with a map of the country before him would say he went through the San Gorgonio pass. The Cienega de San Sebastian is on or very close to the 116th meridian and the eastern entrance to San Gorgonio is about 116° 40', and is therefore a little west of north, eighty miles away, with but scanty water supply before reaching Palm spring, sixty-five miles distant. Anza's record of direction and length of march is explicit and Font's practically agrees with it. I give the two.

	ANZA		FONT	
To Puenticitos	W. by W.N.W.	3½1	W. ¼ N.W.	41
" S. Gregorio	" "	4	" "	5
" Vado de S. Caterina	W. N. W.	4	NW. ¼ W.	4
" Fuente S. Caterina	N.W. & W.N.W.	1½	" "	1
" Los Danzantes	N.W. by W.N.W.	3	W. N. W.	4
" San Carlos pass	W.N.W. & N.W.	2½	W. N. W.	3
		six jornadas 18½1		211

I would say that Anza was more accurate in his estimate of distances traveled than Font and had, besides, been over this route twice before. He gives the distance traveled from San Sebastian to San Carlos $18\frac{1}{2}$ leagues—say forty-eight miles. By turning into the mountains as he did he soon reached water and grass. I have measured him up and have measured him down on each of his journeys and have done the same with Pedro Font on his journey. Anza writes on May 7th at San Sebastian (on his return trip; present expedition), "At this place we left the cañada in which we have been traveling from San Carlos to here;" showing that between the pass of San Carlos and the Cienega de San Sebastian he traveled through a *cañada* (valley or cañon). Pedro Font writing from Fuente del Santa Caterina (fourth *jornada* from San Sebastian) December 23d, says: "This stopping place is in a cañada which continues upward and through which the road goes crossing the Sierra Madre de California."

I make this particular explanation because the mistake made by Bancroft has been copied by other writers and the San Geronio pass is called the "Historic Gateway to California."

NOTE 12

SOLDIERS OF THE EXPEDITION

As the soldiers of Anza's expedition were the founders and first settlers of the city of San Francisco, it becomes a matter of historical importance to know who and what they were. They left their imprint on the civilization of California and their names are as familiar as household words to all who know the country. The list is now given for the first time and the particulars concerning the families were taken from the Spanish archives of California, destroyed by the fire of 1906. In giving the members of the families I only enumerate the children accompanying the expedition. Many more were born in California.

1. Ensign José Joaquin Moraga was born in 1741; died in San Francisco and was buried July 15, 1785, in the mission church whose corner stone he laid in 1782. Moraga was an able assistant to Anza and received his commission as lieutenant on the arrival of the expedition at San Gabriel. He accompanied his commander on the survey of the peninsula and river of San Francisco, and on Anza's departure for Mexico, took command of the expedition. He founded the presidio and mission of San Francisco and was the first commander, retaining the position until his death nine years later. He founded the mission of Santa Clara in 1777, and in the same year the pueblo of San José Guadalupe (San José). His record as an officer is an honorable and stainless one. His wife was María del Pilar de Leon y Barcelo. She did not accompany the expedition, being sick in Terrenate at the time, but with her son Gabriel, joined her husband in San Francisco February 20, 1791, the government

paying the cost of transportation: three hundred and eighty dollars and twenty-five cents. The only child of Moraga I find any record of was his son Gabriel, born at the presidio of Fronteras, Sonora, in 1765; buried in Santa Barbara, California, June 15, 1823; married, first, Ana María, daughter of Juan Francisco Bernal; second, Joaquina, daughter of Francisco Javier Alvarado, and sister of Pio Pico's wife. Don Gabriel enlisted in the San Francisco company December 1, 1783, and served for twenty-two years as private, corporal, and sergeant, at the presidios of San Francisco and Monterey and in command of various mission *escoltas* of those districts. On March 10, 1806, he received his commission as alférez and was assigned to the San Francisco garrison. On August 16, 1811, he was made brevet lieutenant for gallantry in a battle with the Indians on the strait of Carquines, and on October 30, 1817, he was made a full lieutenant and ordered to Santa Barbara. His *hoja de servicios* of December 1820, shows thirty-seven years service and forty-six expeditions against the Indians. He applied for retirement on account of chronic rheumatism and other infirmities, and Governor Sola, Captain José Darío Argüello, and other officers, as well as padres Señan and Payeras, testified in terms of highest praise regarding his character and the value of his services, but no attention was paid to his request. In 1806 Moraga explored and named the San Joaquin river and he made a number of expeditions to and beyond the Tulares. Don Gabriel is described as a tall, well built man of dark complexion, brave, gentlemanly, and the foremost soldier of his day in California. His son Joaquin, was grantee of Rancho Laguna de los Palos Colorados in Contra Costa county, and a portion of Moraga valley on said rancho is still in possession of his descendants. Another son, Vicente, was grantee of Pauba in Riverside county.

2. Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva was born in La Valle de San Luis, Sonora, in 1742; died in San Diego, California, June 21, 1806. He enlisted in the presidial company of Terrenate, Sonora, January 1, 1763, and served twenty-four years in the ranks before he received a commission—eleven of them at the presidio of San Francisco. On the 20th of July 1787, he was commissioned alférez and attached to the San Diego company. In 1796 he applied for retirement on account of infirmities contracted during his long services. Governor Borica endorsed his application, recommending that he be retired with the rank of lieutenant as a reward for his services to the king. He was retired as alférez with half pay—two hundred dollars a year. The following November he was made lieutenant, his pension remaining the same. Grijalva brought with him in the expedition his wife, María Dolores Valencia, and three children: María Josefa, age nine; María del Carmen, age four; and Claudio, a baby. Josefa married Sergeant Antonio Yorba, who came with Portolá in 1769 as sergeant of Catalan volunteers. She became the mother of one of California's great families, grantees of Santa Ana de Santiago, Las Bolsas, and Lomas de Santiago. Carmen married Pedro Regalado Peralta, son of Gabriel. Of Claudio I know nothing. The name of Grijalva died out in California.

3. Corporal Domingo Alviso lived but a short time after reaching San Francisco. He was buried March 11, 1777, and the *libro de difuntos* gives neither age nor place of birth. With him came his wife, María Angela Trejo, and four children: Francisco Javier, age ten; Francisco, age nine; María Loreta, age five; and Ignacio, age three. The family became a large and influential one and were grantees of Natividad, Cañada Verde y Arroyo de la

Purísima, Milpitas, Potrero de los Cerritos, El Quito, Cañada de los Vaqueros, and Rincon de los Esteros. The town of Alviso was named for Ignacio.

4. Corporal José Valerio Mesa was born in 1734 in Opodepe, a mission on the Horcasitas river a little above San Miguel in Sonora. His wife, María Leonor Barboa, and six children, born at the presidio of Altar, accompanied him to California. They were: José Joaquin, age twelve; José Ignacio, age nine; Ignacio Dolores, age eight; María Manuela, age seven; José Antonio, and Juan, age three. Valerio's grandson, Juan Prado, son of José Antonio, became an ensign and comandante of San Francisco under Vallejo. This family received the following grants: San Antonio (Santa Clara county), Los Médanos, Rinconada del Arroyo de San Francisquito, and Soulañule.

5. Corporal Gabriel Peralta was born at the presidio of Terrenate, in Sonora, in 1731; died in Santa Clara, California, October 22, 1807. His wife, Francisca Javier Valenzuela, and four children: Juan José, age eighteen; Luis María, age seventeen; Pedro Regalado, age eleven; and María Gertrudis, age nine, accompanied the expedition. Luis María enlisted in the Monterey company December 2, 1781, and served in the ranks for forty-five years. He was eight years a private, twelve years a corporal, and twenty-five years a sergeant. He was a soldier, engaged in many expeditions against the Indians, and was several times recommended for promotion to the commission grade of alférez, but never received it. He was retired *invalido* in 1826, and died in San José in 1851, aged ninety-three.

On June 20, 1820, Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, governor of California, granted to Sergeant Luis Peralta the San Antonio rancho, eleven square leagues—48,825 acres,

perhaps the most famous as well as the most valuable of all the California grants. It includes the sites of the cities of Oakland, Alameda, and Berkeley. The Rinconada de los Gatos, the Cañada del Corte Madera, and the San Ramon ranchos were also given to the descendants of Corporal Peralta.

6. Juan Antonio Amézquita was born in Metape, Sonora, in 1739. He enlisted at the presidio of Tubac July 9, 1764, and was retired *invalido* November 1, 1788. On October 1, 1786, he was transferred to Monterey where in 1813 he was living with his third wife, María Micaela Sotelo. Juan Antonio's wife, Juana María de Guana, and five children: Manuel Domingo, age twenty-three; María Josefa, age twenty; María Dolores, age ten; María Gertrudis, age about three; and María de los Reyes, a babe, came with the expedition. With this family was Rosalia Zamora, wife of the oldest son, Manuel Domingo—who was also called Salvador Manuel and Manuel Francisco. María Josefa became the wife of Ensign Hermenegildo Sal.

7. José Ramon Bojorques, born in the city of Sinaloa in 1737, brought with him his wife, Francisca Romero, and three children: María Antonia, age fifteen, wife of José Tiburcio Vasquez; María Micaela, age thirteen; and María Gertrudis, age twelve. With the family was the husband of María Micaela, José Anastacio Higuera.

8. Justo Roberto Altamirano was born in Aguage, Sonora, in 1745. He brought with him his wife, María Loreta Delfin, and two sons: José Antonio and José Matias. Matias died in 1783, and José Antonio in 1789.

Justo Roberto had a number of children born in San Francisco and Santa Clara, but the name has died out in California.

9. Ignacio Linares was born in San Miguel de Horcasitas in 1745; died in San José Guadalupe, California, June 5, 1805. His wife, María Gertrudis Rivas, and four children: María Gertrudis, age seven; Juan José Ramon, age five; María Juliana, age four; and Salvador, age one; came with the expedition.

10. Carlos Gallegos brought his wife, María Josefa Espinosa, but no children. I know nothing about him except that he was sent to the mission of the Colorado and was killed by the Yumas in the rising of 1781.

The above ten constitute the veteran soldiers of the Sonora presidios who volunteered to cast their lot in California. The recruits were:

11. Juan Salvio Pacheco lived but a short time in California. I do not know the date or place of his birth. He died before July 21, 1777, but the family he founded became a large one. He brought with him to California his wife, María del Carmen del Valle, and five children: Miguel, age twenty; Ignacio, age fifteen; Ignacia Gertrudis, age fifteen; Bartolomé Ignacio, age ten; and María Barbara, age ten. Juan Salvio's descendants were grantees of Potrero de los Cerritos, Arroyo de las Nueces, Santa Rita, San José Rancho, San Ramon, Monte del Diablo, and Positos ranchos. The towns of Pacheco in Contra Costa and Pacheco in Marin counties are named for this family.

12. José Antonio Garcia was born in Culiacan, Sonora, and died in Santa Clara, California, January 25, 1778, the first death recorded (*gente de razon*) on the books of that mission. His wife, María Josefa de Acuña, and

five children: María Graciana, María Josefa, José Vicente, José Francisco, and Juan Guillermo, accompanied the expedition.

13. Pablo Pinto was born in the city of Sinaloa in 1732; buried in San Francisco December 1, 1783. He brought with him his wife, Francisca Javier Ruelas, and four children: Juan María, age seventeen; Juana Santos, Juana Francisca, and José Marcelo. The husband of Juana Santos, Casimiro Varela, accompanied the family. Another daughter of Pablo Pinto was with the expedition—Teresa, wife of the *poblador*, Nicolas Galindo. The marriage of Juana Francisca to Mariano Cordero, a soldier of the Monterey garrison, November 28, 1776, is the first marriage recorded in the *libro de casamientos* of San Francisco.

14. Antonio Quiterio Aceves was born in La Valle de San Bartolomé, Durango, in 1740. He brought with him his wife, María Feliciano Cortes, and six children: María Petra, age thirteen; José Cipriano, age eleven; María Gertrudis, age six; Juan Gregorio, age five; Pablo, age three; and José Antonio, age two. Aceves was granted the Salinas rancho, four leagues on the Salinas river, in 1795, one of the earliest grants.

15. Ignacio María Gutierrez, brought his wife, Ana María de Osuna, and three children: María Petronia, age ten; María de Los Santos, age seven; and Diego Pascual, born on the Gila, en route.

16. Ignacio de Soto, was born in the city of Sinaloa in 1749, and died in Santa Clara, California, February 23, 1807. His wife, María Barbara Espinosa de Lugo, was a sister of the soldier Francisco de Lugo, whose daughter, María Antonia, became the mother of General Vallejo. She, with two children: María Antonia, age two; and

José Antonio, age one, accompanied her husband. The first white child born in San Francisco was Francisco José de los Dolores Soto, son of Ignacio and Barbara, born August 10, 1776. The child was hastily baptized *ab instantem mortem*, but he lived to become a great Indian fighter and died in 1835, a *sargento distinguido*. I have a record of fourteen children born in California to Ignacio and Barbara Lugo de Soto, and their descendants were grantees of the following ranchos: Cañada de la Segunda, El Piojo, San Matias, San Lorenzo, Cañada de la Carpintería, Cañada del Hambre, Capay, San Vicente, Los Vallecitos, and Bolsa Nueva.

17. José Manuel Valencia was born in Guadalupe, Zacatecas, Mexico, in 1749, and died in Santa Clara, California, in 1788. His wife, María de la Luz Muños, and three children accompanied him to California. The children were: María Gertrudis, age fifteen years; Francisco María, age eight; and Ignacio María, age three. His descendants were granted Alcanes rancho and Cañada de Pinole.

18. Luis Joaquin Alvarez was born in the city of Sinaloa in 1740. He brought with him his wife, María Nicolosa Ortiz, and two children: Juan Francisco and María Francisca.

19. José Antonio Sanchez was born in the city of Sinaloa in 1751. He brought his wife, María de los Dolores Morales, and two children: María Josefa, age seven; and José Antonio, age two; also, Ignacio Cardenas, a *prohijado*—adopted son. Sanchez was a man of some education and wrote a beautiful hand. The family became prominent in San Francisco and José Antonio, second, became ensign and comandante of San Francisco and famous for his skill and courage as an Indian fighter.

In 1827 he was permitted to occupy the *rancho nacional* which was afterwards formally granted him. This was the great Buri Buri rancho immediately south of the city and county of San Francisco, comprising 15,793 acres, now belonging, in part, to the Spring Valley Water Company. In 1836 José Antonio 2d was retired with forty-five years' service to his credit. He passed the rest of his life on his rancho and at the mission of Dolores. He appears on a *padron* of San Francisco in 1842 as an *hacendado* (farmer). He was a brave and honest man, and somewhat given to asserting his rights. He became involved in a controversy with the priests over the question of tithes, which Sanchez, following the example of Vallejo and other prominent landowners, refused to pay. In consequence of this quarrel he was denied the comforts of religion on his death bed and for a time, Christian burial. He died June 22, 1843, and was finally given ecclesiastic interment in the cemetery of the mission on July 5th. His son, Francisco, grandson of Anza's trooper, was comandante of San Francisco at the time of the conquest and was the Captain Sanchez who captured Alcalde Bartlett and commanded the Mexican forces at the battle of Santa Clara. Francisco was granted the San Pablo rancho.

20. Manuel Ramirez Arellano was born in Puebla in 1742 and brought with him his wife, María Agueda de Haro, and son, José Mariano. He was retired in 1786 and removed to Los Angeles. He had three children born in Santa Clara and three more born in Los Angeles. The family was quite prominent in the south and the name became changed to Arellanes. Manuel Ramirez was alcalde of Los Angeles in 1790, and his daughter, María Martina married Don Ignacio Martinez, later comandante of San Francisco, and was the mother of

some of California's famous beauties. Don Teodoro Arellanes, son of Manuel, born in Santa Clara, November 5, 1782, is mentioned by Davis, Robinson, and other writers as a rancho prince. The family obtained the Guadalupe, El Rincon, and La Punta de la Laguna ranchos.

21. Joaquin Isidro de Castro was born in the city of Sinaloa in 1732. He brought with him his wife, María Martina Botiller, and nine children: Ignacio Clemente, age twenty; María Josefa, age eighteen; María Encarnacion, age twelve; María del Carmen, age ten; José Mariano, age 9; José Joaquin, age six; Francisco María, age two; Francisco Antonio, and Carlos. This was a very large family and became connected by marriage with most of the prominent families of California. One granddaughter married Governor Alvarado, and another married Carlos Antonio Carrillo and became mother of five beautiful daughters, all of whom married Americans. One of the earliest grants of land in California was made to Joaquin Isidro who, together with his son-in-law, Mariano Soberanes, was granted Buena Vista on the Salinas river in 1795. In 1801 Castro was given La Brea. His sons and grandsons were given the following ranchos and islands: Aptos, Del Refugio, El Sobrante, Laguna de Teche, Las Llagas, Las Paicines, Las Animas, San Andrés, San Gregorio, San Lorenzo, San Pablo, San Ramon, Shoquel, Solis, Vega del Rio del Pájero, Isla de la Yegua (Mare Island), and Isla de Yerba Buena. The Castros of Monterey and the Castros of San Francisco call each other cousin. General José Castro belonged to the Monterey family.

22. Felipe Santiago Tapia, born in Culiacan in 1745, brought his wife, Juana María Filomena Hernandez (or Juana María Cardenas) and the following children: José

Bartolomé, Juan José, José Cristoval, José Francisco, José Victor, María Rosa, age fifteen; María Antonia, age thirteen; María Manuela, age ten; and María Ysidora, age four. José Bartolomé, who settled at San Luis Obispo was grantee of Topanga Malibu rancho in 1804. His son, Tiburcio, was granted Cucamonga rancho.

23. Juan Francisco Bernal, born in Rancho del Tule, in the district of Sinaloa, in 1737, brought his wife, María Josefa de Soto, sister of Ignacio, and seven children: José Joaquin, age thirteen; Juan Francisco, age twelve; José Dionisio, age ten; José Apolonario, age nine; Ana María, age five; María Teresa de Jesus, age three; and Tomás Januario. This family received the following lands: Rincon de las Salinas y Potrero Viejo (South San Francisco), Rincon de Ballena, Santa Teresa, Laguna de Palos Colorados, Embarcadero de Santa Clara, El Alisal, and Cañada de Pala. Bernal Heights, San Francisco, is a part of Rincon de Salinas.

24. Juan Atanasio Vasquez, born in Agualulco, Sonora, in 1735, brought his wife, María Gertrudis Castelo, and three children: José Tiburcio, age twenty; José Antonio, age ten; and Pedro José. This family received Corral de Tierra, Chamisal, and Soulajule ranchos.

25. Juan Agustin Valenzuela, born in Real de los Alamos, Sonora, in 1749, brought his wife, Petra Ignacio de Ochoa, and one child: María Zepherin.

26. Santiago de la Cruz Pico was born in San Miguel de Horcasitas in 1733. In 1777 he was transferred from San Francisco to the San Diego presidio and founded a large family in the south. His sons all enlisted in the presidial companies, as did the sons of the other soldiers, and one, José Dolores, being transferred to Monterey, founded the northern branch of the family. Santiago brought with him to California his wife, María Jacinta

Vastida, and seven children, all born in San Javier de Cabazan, on the Rio Piastla, Sonora. The children were: José Dolores, age twelve; José María, age eleven; José Miguel, age seven; Francisco Javier, age six; Patricio, age five; María Antonia Tomasa, and María Josefa. José Maria, son of Santiago, was the father of Pio Pico, the last Mexican governor of California. Andrés, another son of José María was, perhaps, the ablest member of the family of Pico. He was in command of the Californians at the battle of San Pascual and was present and took part in the engagements at the San Gabriel river and La Mesa. As commander of the national forces in California he signed the capitulation of Cahuenga, January 13, 1847, which ended the war. He was member of the assembly in 1851; presidential elector, 1852; land receiver and brigadier general of militia, 1858; and state senator 1860-1. Antonio María, son of Dolores, was lieutenant of militia, captain of *defensores*, member of constitutional convention, presidential elector in 1860, and register of the land office at Los Angeles in 1862. Another son of Dolores, José de Jesus, was captain of *defensores*. He broke his parole and was captured and condemned to death, but was pardoned by Frémont whom he assisted in bringing about the treaty of Cahuenga. The descendants of Santiago de la Cruz Pico received the following grants: Agua Caliente, Arroyo Seco, Bolsa de San Cayetano, Piedra Blanca, El Pescadero, Jumal, La Habra, Los Flores, Moquelamo, El Paso de Bartolo Viejo, Punto del Año Nuevo, San José del Gracia de Simi, Santa Margarita, Temecula, Valle de San José, and Casa Loma.

27. José Vicente Felix, was born in Real de los Alamos, Sonora, in 1741. His wife, Manuela Piñuelar, was the woman who died in childbirth, the first night out from

Tubac. Seven children came with the expedition: José Francisco, José Doroteo, José de Jesus, José Antonio Capistrano, María Loreta, María Antonia, and María Manuela. José Vicente was transferred to the San Diego company before 1782 and in 1802, or earlier, was given the Felix rancho just north of the pueblo of Los Angeles—now within the city bounds.

28. Sebastian Antonio Lopez brought his wife Felipa Neri (or Felipa Xermana) and three children: Sebastian, María Tomasa, and María Justa. I have no information about this family.

29. José Antonio Sotelo died in San Francisco January 20, 1777, the second death recorded in the *libro de difuntos*. The name of his wife is given by Pedro Font as Gertrudis Peralta, but the above register has it Manuela Gertrudis Buelna. They brought one child: Ramon.

30. Pedro Antonio Bojorques, born in Sinaloa in 1754, brought his wife, María Francisca de Lara, and daughter, María Agustina, age four. The wife died January 28, 1777, the third death in San Francisco, and Pedro married the widow of Corporal Domingo Alviso, María Angela Trejo, on the 20th of July following. His son, Bartolomé, was grantee of Laguna de San Antonio, six leagues in Marin county.

Accompanying the expedition were four families of settlers (*pobladores*) and three *solteros* (bachelors). The families were:

1. José Manuel Gonzales, with his wife, María Micaela Bojorques, and children: Juan José, Ramon, Francisco, and María Gregoria. José Manuel was made a poblador of San José Guadalupe.

2. Nicolas Galindo, born in Real de Santa Eulalia in 1743, brought with him his wife, María Teresa Pinto,

daughter of Pablo, and one child: Juan Venancio, one year old. Nicolas enlisted, in the San Francisco company and served until 1794, when he was retired and his son, José Rafael, took his place. José Antonio Galindo, son of Juan Venancio, received on September 23, 1835, the first grant of land in San Francisco: La Laguna de la Merced, twenty-two hundred and twenty acres in the southwestern part of the city and county. On May 12, 1837, Galindo sold this rancho to Francisco de Haro, for one hundred cows and twenty-five dollars in goods. It now belongs to the Spring Valley Water Company and is valued at four million dollars. Galindo also received in 1835, the Sausalito rancho which he sold to William A. Richardson the following year. Other members of this family received town lots in San Francisco and the lands of the Santa Clara mission. A granddaughter of Nicolas Galindo married James Alexander Forbes, English consul at Monterey.

3. Nicolas Antonio Berreyesa, born in Sinaloa in 1761, was accompanied by his sister, Isabel, age twenty-two, both unmarried. Nicolas married Gertrudis, daughter of Gabriel Peralta, and Isabel married Juan José Peralta, her brother. Nicolas enlisted in the San Francisco company October 1, 1782. His son, José de los Reyes, born in Santa Clara, January 6, 1785, was one of the first victims of the war of conquest. He was a retired sergeant with thirty-seven years' service to his credit. He was killed June 28, 1846, by Frémont's men as he landed from a boat at San Rafael on his way to Sonoma to visit his son who was alcalde at that place. With him were two sons of Francisco de Haro, Francisco and Ramon, bearers of dispatches from Castro to his lieutenant Joaquin de la Torre. José Reyes Berreyesa was owner of the land on which the New Almaden quicksilver mines

were situated The members of this family received the following grants: Cañada de Capay, Rincon de Musulacón, Chirules, San Vicente, Malacomes, Milpitas, and Las Putas. Nicolas wrote his name Berrelleza.

4. María Feliciano Arballo, widow of José Gutierrez, accompanied the expedition with her two little girls: María Tomasa Gutierrez, age six, and María Estaquia Gutierrez, age four. She left the expedition at San Gabriel, where on March 6, 1776, she was married to Juan Francisco Lopez, a soldier of the guard. The marriage ceremony was performed by Fray Francisco Garcés, missionary to the Colorado river tribes, who, it will be remembered, Anza had left at the junction of the rivers. Garcés had gone up the Colorado to visit the Mojaves and had crossed the Mojave desert, arriving at San Gabriel after the expedition had passed up the coast. Little María Estaquia, thirteen years later, married José María Pico whom she had first known when, a boy of eleven, he accompanied his family with the expedition. She became the mother of Pio Pico. María Feliciano had, by her second husband, María Ignacia de la Candelaria Lopez, who married Joaquin Carrillo of San Diego, and became the mother of General Vallejo's wife and four other daughters whose loveliness is duly recorded in the pages of this *historia verdadera*. After her husband's death María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo, who was a most beautiful woman, was granted, in 1841, the rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa in Sonoma county, where she lived with her son Ramon. She is buried in the ruined mission of San Francisco Solano, at Sonoma. Her remains were laid under the font where it would receive the holy water that fell from the hands of devout worshippers.

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The three *solteros* were: Don Francisco Muños, Pedro Perez de la Fuente, Marcos Villela.

Villela became a poblador at San José Guadalupe. Of the others, I know nothing.

NOTE 13

BAC—TUBAC—TUCSON

Bac (house). The mission of San Xavier del Bac nine miles south of Tucson was founded by Father Kino in 1700. On the expulsion of the Jesuits Father Garcés was assigned to this mission which he took charge of in 1768 and administered for ten years. The present church, which is described as a most remarkable object to find in so wild a country, was begun in 1768 and finished in 1798. Bartlett, who visited it in 1852, said it was the largest and most beautiful church in the State of Sonora. Benjamin Hayes, writing in 1857, says: "San Xavier is not what it was when I passed in 1849. The magnificent church is becoming dilapidated, the Papagos who had the care of it having left. It then looked magnificently over the dark mesquite forest through which it is approached, with its white walls like marble and its three domes. The altar seemed a mass of gold as the sun's rays streamed upon it in the afternoon. It had thirteen good oil paintings, kept in a side room with the altar furniture and priest's robes. The interior walls were filled with scriptural scenes, fresh as if painted the day before. * * * This church might be an ornament to Fourth Street, Saint Louis, or to any other city." (Benj. Hayes: *Emigrant Notes* MS. p. 150.)

Tubac. The presidio of Tubac was one of a chain of presidios guarding the northern frontier of Sonora. It was erected in 1752 on the Santa Cruz river, in what is now the Territory of Arizona, about forty-five miles south of Tucson. In 1767 the place had a population of four hundred and twenty *gente de razon*,* including

*People of Reason—Civilized Folk.

the families of the fifty soldiers of the garrison under Captain Anza. In 1776 the presidio was removed to Tucson. In 1777 the people of Tubac petitioned for a restoration of the presidio and a company of Pimas was organized for a permanent garrison. Later, the post was occupied by a company of Spanish regulars. After the cession to the United States there was a temporary revival of the old town. It is situated within the southern rain belt, in the richest portion of the Santa Cruz valley. The annual rainfall is from twenty to twenty-five inches. In 1858-9, Tubac had a population of eight hundred, and the houses with their gardens and groves of acacias and peach trees made the little town most attractive. It was in the center of the mineral region and had probably one hundred and fifty silver mines within a radius of sixteen miles. During the War of the Rebellion it was occupied for a short time by Confederate troops and later by a regiment of California volunteers. The location is adjacent to the *Apacheria*. It was frequently raided by the Apaches and in 1861-62 and 63 was made uninhabitable by those savage warriors, and several well-known mining engineers fell victims to their fury. There is but little left of the historic town now.

Tucson. The claim that Tucson was settled by the Spaniards in 1560 has no foundation. Anza on his return from Monterey in 1775, reached Tucson May 25th. He calls it the Pima pueblo of Teson and says it belongs to the Pimas Altas (i. e. the inhabitants of *Pimeria Alta*); that it is within the jurisdiction of his presidio and contains eighty families. Passing through Tucson October 26, 1775, with the second expedition, Father Garcés calls it "*A visita* of my administration and the last christianized pueblo in this direction" (north). The foundation of Tucson as a Spanish settlement was in 1776, when the presidio of Tubac was transferred thither.

NOTE 14

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE
MISSIONS OF THE COLORADO

Salvador Palma, chief of the Yumas, whose anxiety to embrace the true religion and have his people converted to Christianity was so extreme that he made peace with the surrounding nations and complied with all of Anza's requirements, headed a revolt against the pueblo-missions of the Colorado and totally destroyed them, killing Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncado, lieutenant-governor of Lower California, the four priests in charge of the missions—including this same Father Garcés—and some forty-two of the soldiers and settlers, one of whom was a private soldier in the company now being entertained by him. While the tale is a cruel one, a study of the events leading up to the outbreak forces the conclusion that from the Indian's point of view there was much provocation. No one can read the accounts given by Anza of the services rendered by this chief and his Yumas without realizing how valuable to the infant establishments of California was the friendship that Anza so carefully and successfully cultivated. He records his opinion that Palma's affection and fidelity may be fully trusted, and says that with the friendly assistance of the Yumas the passage of the Colorado was assured, but if it were opposed by them it would be next to impossible. On his first journey he trusted to the care of the Yuma the lives of seven of his men, and what is especially tempting to an Indian, a large part of his horses and cattle and the most of his baggage with its precious stores of trinkets, tobacco, and other things of value to the savage; all of which was safely guarded

and returned to him when he came back from Monterey, although the time set for his return was long passed and reports had been received that Anza and all his party had been killed by the hill tribes of California.

On Anza's return from San Francisco in 1776, Palma accompanied him to the City of Mexico where he was well entertained. Bucaréli, favorably impressed with him and Anza's report concerning him, promised to establish a presidio and two missions on the Rio Colorado. The project was delayed by Indian troubles in the Pimería Alta, and in the meantime a new element was introduced which gave the execution of the plan into new and untried hands. The office of comandante-general of the Provincias Internas de Occidente was created and made independent of the viceroy; Don Teodoro de Croix was appointed to the place and Anza was sent as governor to New Mexico. Palma was still in the City of Mexico when the new official arrived. Bucaréli commended him to Croix who promised to give the matter his early attention, and Palma returned to his people much pleased with his reception and importance. A year passed and nothing was done. Palma went to Altar to ascertain the cause of the delay. The captain of that presidio satisfied him that matters were progressing and he returned to the Colorado. Another year passed with nothing accomplished. Palma's people taunted him with his failure and his allies regarded him with contempt. The authority of an Indian chief is but precarious at best. He must be wise; he must be strong; but above all he must be successful. The domination of Palma was largely due to the recognition and confirmation of his authority by the Spaniards. He was now being discredited. He went again to Altar and thence to Horcasitas whose commander represented to the comandante-general the uneasiness of the Indians of the Colorado.

The king had been advised of Palma's visit to Mexico, had seen Anza's reports of his two expeditions as well as Garcés' reports on the Yumas, and he ordered Croix to concede to Palma the promised presidio and missions. The comandante-general, however, had ideas of his own on that subject and he attempted to console Palma by sending Friars Garcés and Diaz with an escort of twelve soldiers and a scanty equipment to the Colorado. They reached Palma's domain late in 1779 and great was the disappointment and chagrin of the Yumas. The contrast between what they expected and what they got was too great. In 1775 there had passed through their country a great expedition with a large body of troops clad in leather armor (*soldados de cuera*), great herds of cattle and trains of sumpter mules laden with precious wares, all under command of an officer of high rank and dignified bearing who created governors and alcaldes, conferred decorations in the name of the king, and scattered largess with a liberal hand. All this gallant array was for the purpose of founding a presidio and two missions on the bay of San Francisco. They had been promised a like establishment in their country, and now, after years of patient waiting, the fulfillment of that promise came in the shape of two priests, twelve soldiers, and a beggarly outfit hardly sufficient for their own subsistence. Many Indians were already in revolt and the peace, so carefully established by Anza, had already been broken by the murder of a Yuma by the Papagos. It was the beginning of war between the tribes and of general distrust of the Spaniards. Garcés, whose wide experience had taught him the Indian character, reported the dangers of the situation and Croix resolved to adopt a new plan in the establishments of the Colorado and found two missions each of which should combine the features of a presidio, a pueblo, and a mission. Against the protests of Garcés

and the warnings of Anza he proceeded to carry his plan into effect; and the autumn of 1780 witnessed the arrival in the land of the Yumas of twenty settlers, twelve laborers, and twenty-one soldiers, all bringing their wives and plenty of children. The number of priests was increased to four. One presidio-pueblo-mission was established at Puerto de la Concepcion, later the site of Fort Yuma, where the partly demolished remains of stone walls of buildings were seen by Bartlett in 1852; and the other about eight miles down the river, almost on the boundary line between Alta and Baja California, both on the California side of the river. The upper establishment was called La Purisima Concepcion and the lower San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer. The new settlers proceeded to appropriate the best lands and forage their cattle and horses on the growing crops of the Yumas.

Nothing more was needed to fan the smouldering discontent into the fierce flame of open rebellion. Ensign Santiago de las Islas was in command and in June 1781, came Captain Rivera y Moncada from Sonora with a party of recruits for the California establishments. The recruits Rivera sent on to California, a portion of his escort he sent back to Sonora and, with about a dozen of his men, he remained to his death in camp on the Arizona side of the river.

On Tuesday, July 17, 1781, the blow fell. Under the leadership of Palma the attack was made simultaneously on both missions and all but seven of the men were killed; the women and children were carried into captivity and the houses were destroyed. Garcés was at Concepcion and both he and his companion, Father Barrenche, survived the first attack, and while the Indians were killing right and left and looting the houses, both padres were busy hearing confessions and administering the sacraments to the dying. Both were beaten to death

with clubs two days later. On the eighteenth the Yumas crossed the river, and attacked Rivera, killing the commander and all of his men and destroying his camp. Thus ended the first and last attempt to establish missions on the Colorado.

The death of Father Garcés in his forty-fourth year closed the earthly career of one of the most heroic, spiritual, and lovable of men. Born in the Villa de Morata del Conde, in Aragon, April 12, 1738, baptized Francisco Tomas Hermenegildo, he was carefully educated, ordained in the priesthood, and at the age of twenty-five was sent, at his earnest request, a missionary, to the college of the Santa Cruz de Querétaro (Mexico). In 1768 he was given charge of San Javier del Bac. He visited the various pueblos of the Pimas and Papagos and in August of that year made his first visit to the Gila. In 1770 he made another trip to the pueblos of the Gila and in 1771 traveled to the junction of the Gila and Colorado. The Yumas took him across the Colorado on a raft into Lower California and he wandered for some time among the Indians of the lower Colorado, preaching and baptizing the dying. He accompanied Anza on his first expedition of 1774 as far as San Gabriel, and accompanied him on the second trip as far as the Colorado. He visited the tribes up the river, crossed the Mojave desert to San Gabriel and discovered the Mojave river. Returning he passed into Tulare valley, discovered Kern river and went nearly to Tulare lake. He visited the Moqui pueblos whose inhabitants refused to receive him and would give him neither shelter nor food. In this journey he was alone, his guide, in fear of his life, refusing to go with him.

In much of his wanderings he was alone, in the desolate desert or in the midst of ruthless savages, yet he was without fear, for he was on the Master's service. In his

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death at the hands of those he loved and for the welfare of whose souls he labored, he was found worthy of the highest reward, the crown of martyrdom. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of the just.

NOTE 15

THE COLORADO DESERT

In order to realize Anza's great achievement, one has but to read the passage of this desert by the advance guard of the Army of the West under General Stephen W. Kearny in November 1846, as told by Lieutenant W. H. Emory, U. S. Topographical Engineers, accompanying the expedition.* Kearny, with his staff and one hundred dragoons, a pack-train, and a large supply of extra saddle and pack animals, followed the route of the "great highway" opened by Anza seventy years before. The hardships and sufferings of these toughened soldiers in crossing this desert were great, and they lost a large number of animals. Also read Bartlett† who crossed the desert in June 1852.

A great change has been wrought in this desolate region. The waters of the Rio Colorado have caused the desert to bloom as the rose; grains and grasses, fruits and flowers cover the once glistening sands, and the mesquite and cactus have given way for the date, the fig, and the olive. But the genius of the desert was not to be overcome without a struggle. By the advancing forces of reclamation and civilization the mighty power of the great river had not been sufficiently considered and suddenly the Colorado asserted itself; it deserted its channel and poured its flood through the canal opened to convey a portion of its waters to the arroyo of the Álamo river and thence to the irrigating canals. The force of the river soon widened the intake to a channel of six hundred yards and the entire flow of the Colorado went racing down

*30th Cong. 1st. Sess. Ex. Doc. No. 41.

†Bartlett: *Personal Narrative*.

the comparatively steep incline to the Salton sea. Desperate attempts were made to dam the new channel. A channel was opened between the Alamo and the Rio Padrones in an effort to divert the flood through the Rio Padrones, Volcano lake, and Hardy's Colorado to the gulf; but just north of the lake the water cut a channel for itself from Rio Padrones through to New river and flowed thence northwest to Salton sea, which began to fill under the flow from two channels; the Alamo and New rivers. The water rapidly eroded the soft silt of the desert forming deep channels and cataracts which, progressing up stream, threatened to result in conditions that would not permit of the waters being diverted into the irrigating canals, being from sixty to eighty feet below the surface of the surrounding country.

An appeal was made to the Federal government and on January 12, 1906, the president sent a message to Congress asking for an appropriation of two million dollars to control the Colorado river and save the homes of the settlers of the Imperial valley of California, as it is called; but it was not until February 1907 that the stream was finally subjugated.

In December 1908 I visited the valley and plucked a delicious orange from a four year old tree in a grove in the midst of the terrible desert. The so-called rivers of the Colorado desert are but dry channels through which the waters of the Colorado flow when the river is in flood. The flow is northward, and in times of great freshet the waters have reached and filled the Salton sea, a depression in the northern part of the desert lying some three hundred feet below sea level. There are two of these rivers, the Alamo or Salton river, and the New river. The Rio Padrones connects the New river with the Colorado. It takes the overflow of the great river at a point six or eight miles below the boundary line and conveys it

through several channels to Volcano lake, thence through New river to Salton sea, and also through Hardy's Colorado to the gulf. The waters of the Colorado have reached Salton sea several times within the memory of the present generation; the depression is now filled to a depth of nearly eighty feet and the water covers an area of about three hundred square miles.

Hardy's Colorado is another of these overflow rivers—in this case being supplied by the flood from above. In May 1826 Lieutenant R. W. H. Hardy of the British navy, traveling in Mexico, chartered in the port of Guaymas a twenty-five ton schooner, *El Bruja*, and sailed to the head of the gulf. Encountering a good deal of trouble in high winds and shoals he finally reached a vein of reddish water which he surmised came from "Red" river and at two o'clock of the same day he saw an opening ahead which he took to be the mouth and he sailed into it and anchored for the night at half past six. At midnight he cast the lead and found but a foot and a half of water. He got off without damage at the next rise of the tide but next day he broke his rudder and continued his exploration for some distance upward in a small boat. He thought the mouth of the Gila was below him, but what he took for the Gila was the Colorado itself. He was in a bayou or flood water channel from which he finally extricated himself. This channel is still called Hardy's Colorado.

NOTE 16

RIO DE SANTA ANA

To those who have only seen the dry bed of the Santa Ana river in summer Anza's account of the passage will seem strange. Some one has said that the bed of a southern California river is on top; and the Santa Ana is a typical river of southern California. The visible water supply is not by any means all there is if one of these streams. A great part of the flow is under the surface, and though the bed of the river may be dry, abundance of water may be generally found by sinking. Where the rock approaches the surface, as in the entrance to a cañon, the water rises, only to sink again as the rock recedes. The Santa Ana river, the crossing of which was so serious a matter to Anza's expedition, shows to most persons passing through San Bernardino valley but a dry bed of sand; yet this river forms one of the most important and valuable water supplies in the south. Rising in the San Bernardino mountains (Sierra Madre) it comes out of a broad cañon at the east end of the valley where its surface flow in summer is all taken by the ditch companies supplying the Highlands and Redlands districts. The San Bernardino valley, bed of an ancient lake, receives at its edge several streams, tributary to the Santa Ana, which promptly disappear. The subterranean flow of the river, probably spread out through the basin of the valley, is gathered with the water of the tributaries and thrown to the surface again by the rim of the basin as the stream passes from the valley through the gap between Slover mountain and the Riverside mesa. Here the water is taken for the Riverside district. Ten miles below, the stream rises to the surface again as it

enters the head of its cañon through the coast range and during its passage through this cañon the ditches supplying Orange county take their water.* Emerging from the cañon the waters again seek their underground channel and flow onward to the sea, spreading through the land and in some places creating large cienegas. In one of these cienegas, on Las Bolsas rancho, an important industry was begun some years ago—the raising of celery. From this rancho there is shipped annually two thousand carloads of celery.

Portolá reached the neighborhood of the river July 26, 1769, Saint Anne's day, and crossed it on the 28th, giving it the saint's name, by which it is still known. Crespi named it Rio Jesus de los Temblores, because of an earthquake they experienced there.

*Hall: *Irrigation in California*. 119 et seq.

NOTE 17

SANTA BARBARA

On August 18, 1769, Portolá came to a large lake of fresh water, on the bank of which was the largest ranchería they had yet seen. They were courteously received by the Indians who supplied them with an abundance of fish both fresh and roasted. Crespi says that the fish given them as a present amounted to four *cargas* (1100 lbs.) The lake appeared to be a permanent one, fed from springs, and the mesa near by was covered with great oaks. They named the lake Laguna de la Concepcion; the pueblo being called the Pueblo de la Laguna.

On the 15th of April 1782, Felipe de Neve, governor of California, accompanied by Junípero Serra and a large company of soldiers, arrived at Laguna de la Concepcion where they were handsomely received by the chief, Yanonolit, ruler of thirteen large rancherías. The advantages of La Laguna and those of Mescaltitan, two and a half leagues to the west, were considered and it was decided to establish the presidio and mission at the Laguna. The presidio was formally founded April 21, 1782, when Father Junípero said mass and chanted an *alabado*. Ortega was given the command with José Darío Argüello as ensign and fifty-five non-commissioned officers and men. Thus was established the presidio of Santa Barbara, the strongest military post in California. Eight of the company, including Lieutenant Ortega and Sergeant Pablo de Cota, were veterans of Portolá's expedition.

NOTE 18

MESCALTITAN

This was the largest group of rancherías the Spaniards found in California. The Indians of the Santa Barbara channel were superior to all others seen in California and the large and populous towns of this group Portolá called the Contiguous Rancherías of Mescaltitan. The marshes surrounding the estero have been mostly drained and contain some of the finest walnut groves in California. The four rancherías of this group were called Salspalil, Hello or the Islet, Alcas, and Oksbulow; while the group was known as the rancherías of the Mescaltitan. Around the estero and marshes are numerous mounds containing the remains of a large population. These rancherías were on the Goleta and Dos Pueblos ranchos. The map of Santa Barbara county has the island designated as Mescalititan, but the quadrangle of the geological survey (Goleta special) has it "Mescal" island. The matter has been represented to the director of the survey but he has not seen fit to notice it. Thus are our historic names destroyed through the ignorance and carelessness of the public servants.

NOTE 19

JUNÍPERO SERRA

At Petra on the island of Mallorca there was born November 24, 1713, Miguel José Serra, son of Antonio Serra and Margarita Ferrer, his wife. The boy early developed religious tendencies and his favorite reading was the lives of the saints. He took the Franciscan habit at Palma September 14, 1730, and made his profession a year later, at which time he assumed the name of Junípero. He was an earnest and proficient student and taught philosophy in the chief convent of Palma for a year before his ordination. He was noted for doctrinal learning and for sensational preaching, and often bared his shoulders and scourged himself with an iron chain, extinguished lighted candles on his flesh, or pounded his breast with a large stone, as he exhorted his hearers to penitence.

On March 30, 1749, he obtained his warrant to join the college of San Fernando and devote himself to missionary work in America. He sailed from Cadiz in August, reached Vera Cruz December 6th, and walked to Mexico where he arrived January 1, 1750. For seventeen years he preached and taught in various places and on July 14, 1767, was appointed president of the California missions. In company with the governor (Portolá) he marched with the rear guard—always on foot—reaching San Diego July 1, 1769. He was unable to accompany the expedition on its march to Monterey but sailed April 16, 1770, reached Monterey May 31st and founded the mission of San Carlos June 3d.

Fray Junípero's administration of the missions was very successful and while kind-hearted and charitable

he was most strict in his enforcement of religious duties. He was not always in accord with the military commanders and the viceroy was at times put to it to maintain the peace in his new establishments of California. Serra's death at San Carlos August 28, 1784, cast a gloom over the province, for he was greatly beloved. He was buried the next day in the mission church and Palou acted as president until the appointment of Fray Fermin Francisco Lasuen in 1785.

NOTE 20

THE CLIMATE OF SAN FRANCISCO

The scrub oak which Anza describes reaches a height of from ten to twenty-five feet, though this does not indicate the length of the trunk which frequently extends some distance in an almost horizontal position. The winds of which he speaks blow regularly during the summer months from ten o'clock in the morning until ten or eleven o'clock at night. They begin about the first of May and are over by the first of October. They are practically confined to the upper end of the peninsula—the city of San Francisco. These winds, which blow from the west and have been erroneously called trade winds, are caused by a circulation established by the displacement upward of the warm air of the great valley of the Sacramento-San Joaquin which appears to move seaward at a height of about 4,000 feet probably descending slowly to sea level some distance from the coast, and the cool air flowing in from the sea has its movement accelerated both by the topography and by the temperature gradient. From experiments which have been made by weather bureau officials the depth of the surface flow in midsummer is about 1,700 feet. It is these winds that give to San Francisco its peculiar climate and make the citizen hesitate to name the coldest month of the year. They have been much abused and afford to many inhabitants of the city a constant and fruitful cause of complaint. To persons of weak lungs and to those subject to bronchial affections they are sometimes trying. It is not the west wind, however, that exerts a baleful influence, but the north wind, and that, fortunately, is not frequent. The summer winds are healthful

and invigorating. A chart of mean summer wind velocity, prepared by the weather bureau, shows the increase of velocity from 8.6 miles per hour at 9 A. M. to 21 miles at 5 P. M. and a decrease to 11 miles at 10 P. M. These are the averages for the three summer months. The highest recorded velocity for those months in a period of thirty-nine years is forty-eight miles an hour, southwest, on June 30, 1873. With the wind direct from the ocean at a velocity of twenty-one miles, laden perhaps with fog, a mean temperature of 59° Fahrenheit, with an occasional drop to 47° , one can readily understand why summer visitors to San Francisco are advised to bring warm clothing with them. Warm weather comes but rarely, usually lasts three days, and is accompanied by north wind. A period of warm weather during the summer months is usually brought to a close at the evening of the third day with strong west winds, dense fog, and a temperature ranging from 49° to 54° . The highest temperature recorded in San Francisco is 101° , September 8, 1904; the lowest, 29° , January 15, 1888; the greatest daily range recorded 43° , June 29, 1891, and the mean daily range for June, July, and August, is $11^{\circ} 8'$. San Francisco's pleasantest weather is after the winds cease in the fall and before they begin in the spring. This is during the so-called rainy season. People who do not know California imagine that the rainy season is one of gloom when those of the unfortunate inhabitants who are obliged to venture out do so in peril of the floods. It is, on the contrary, the most delightful season of the year. The rainfall is not excessive; the average in San Francisco for sixty years being only 22.98 inches per annum. The rains begin after the summer winds close and come with the soft southeast wind. The air is warm and springlike and as the Egyptians rejoice over the rising of the Nile, so the Californians are happy in the

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coming of the rain. It means for them not only prosperity but health and a relief from the nervous tension caused by a long dry summer.*

*See *Climatology of California*, by Alexander G. McAdie, Professor of Meteorology, Bulletin U. S. Dept. Agriculture.

NOTE 21

LOS DOLORES

There has been much discussion over the original location of the mission of San Francisco and to what stream or body of water was given the name of Los Dolores. Franklin Tuttle says: "The first site chosen for the mission was near the 'lagoon' back of Russian Hill, but the winds were so bitter that it was soon removed to the spot on the creek where the crumbling old church and some of the houses that surrounded it still stand" (*Hist. of California*, p. 86). Soule, Gihon, and Nesbit say: "On the 27th of June, 1776, an expedition which had started from Monterey arrived on the borders of a small lake, the same which is now called 'Washerman's Lagoon,' near the sea shore from which it was separated by low sand-hills. This was situated towards the northern extremity of the peninsula of San Francisco and the surplus waters of which discharge themselves into the strait that connects the bay with the ocean and which was afterwards called the Golden Gate.* The neighborhood of this lake promised the best place for a mission, though it was subsequently planted about two miles to the south" (*Annals of San Francisco*, 46). General M. G. Vallejo says: "The lake of Dolores was located and could be seen to the right of the road coming from the presidio to the mission, between two hills" (*Discurso Historico. Centennial Memoir*, p. 107). The editor of the memoir (p. 25) identifies the spot as the San Souci valley, immediately behind the hill on which the Prot-

*Washerman's Lagoon was never connected with the bay. The conformation of the land forbids it.

estate. TODAY ASHURE NOW STANDS. John W. Dwinelle says: "I have been in the mission of Dolores and had an interview with a lady resident there, Doña Carmen Siment de Bernal. She was born in Monterey in 1804, was married in 1822 to José Cornelio Bernal, and came here to reside the same year. She is a woman of great vivacity and intelligence, and states that the tradition is that when the missionary Fathers came here to establish the mission, they encamped at a pond which existed where the Willows now are, and to which a great tide creek made up from the bay. I also visited the site of the Willows, and found that although the soil had been filled in there several feet during my own recollection, the fresh water was still flowing out towards the bay" *Colonial History of San Francisco*, p. xiii).

"The Willows" was a resort of the early fifties occupying what is now the block between Valencia, Mission, 18th, and 19th streets. Judge Dwinelle was correct in his location of the Laguna de los Dolores. Bancroft says: "It will be remembered that Anza applied the name Dolores to an *ojo de agua*, a spring or stream which he thought capable of irrigating the mission lands, making no mention of any laguna" *Hist. California*, i, 294). Bancroft is mistaken. Anza wrote on March 28th that at a little more than half a league to the southeast of Laguna Pequeña there was a rather large laguna that appeared to be permanent, on the margin of which garden stuff could be raised; and on the 29th: "I again went to the Laguna de Manantial spoken of yesterday and also to the *ojo de agua* which I called Los Dolores." Palou says: "He (Anza) followed a course along the inside of the port, going around the land, coming out on the shore of the estero or arm of the sea (bay of San Francisco) on the southwest and arriving at the shore of the bay which

the mariners (Ayala's men) called Los Llorones,* crossed an arroyo where a great lake empties itself which (lake) he called Los Dolores, and the site seemed to him a good one for a mission" (*Noticias de Nueva California* iv, 142). Father Palou established the mission of San Francisco and administered it for eight years, and when he took the name Anza gave to the *ojo de agua* and applied it to the Laguna de Manantial, it stuck.

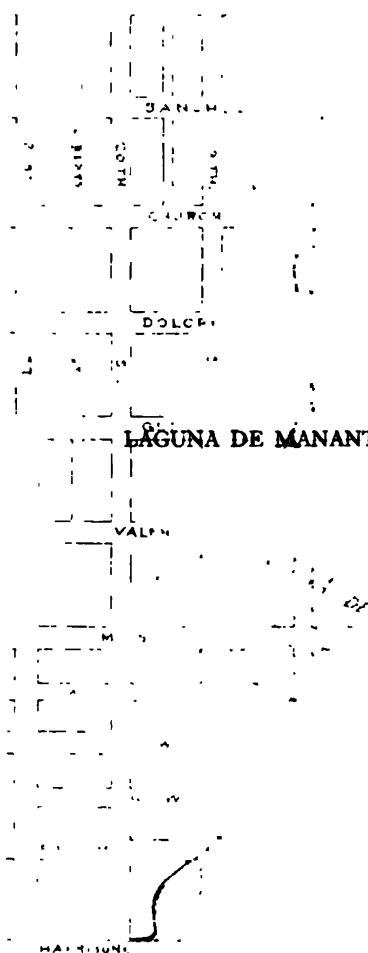
I have spent a good deal of time over the location of the Arroyo de los Dolores and the Laguna de Manantial. The oldest inhabitant of the Mission has no tradition of there ever having been a lake there. It had been filled up by the natural wash from the mountains long before the oldest resident appeared, and had left no memory behind. Dwinelle however, writing in 1865, found those whose memory went back to the early part of the century and whose knowledge of the traditions, then fresh, of the foundation of the mission, was full and accurate. To-day the memory even of the "Willows" is dim and fading. On the United States Coast Survey map of 1857 there appears on the Mission road continuation, about in the neighborhood of Eighteenth street, a piece of land two hundred by three hundred and fifty feet, planted with trees and marked "Willows"—a roadside house with stables, sheds, etc. This was the place referred to by Doña Carmen and was about the center of the laguna. The only map I have seen which shows the Laguna de los Dolores is that of La Perouse. This map shows a large lake near the shore of Mission bay (*Ensenada de los Llorones*) and immediately west of it is shown the mission, which agrees with Palou's account of the founding of the mission. La Perouse was a com-

*The Weepers. The name being given by Aguirre, second mate of the San Carlos, because of some Indians weeping on the shore.

modore in the French navy commanding an expedition sent to explore the coasts of the Pacific. He was in Monterey in 1786.

The Laguna de los Dolores covered the present city blocks bounded by Fifteenth, Twentieth, Valencia, and Howard streets, now closely built up with residences. It was on this filled land of the ancient laguna that the earthquake of April 18, 1906, did such damage, wrecking buildings and causing loss of life. The Arroyo de los Dolores had its rise in Los Pechos de la Choca (The breasts of the Indian girl)—now Twin Peaks, and flowed down about the line Eighteenth street into the laguna. Bayard Taylor who saw the Mission valley in 1849 says: "Three miles from San Francisco is the old mission of Dolores situated in a sheltered valley which is watered by a perpetual stream fed from the tall peaks towards the sea. * * * Several former miners in anticipation of a great influx of emigrants in the spring, pitched their tents on the best spots along Mission creek and began preparing the ground for gardens. The valley was surveyed and staked into lots almost to the summit of the mountains" (*Eldorado* pp. 64, 298-9).

The mission was established on the spot designated by Colonel Anza and was never changed. The mission church, which was finished in 1784, is still in use as a parish church.

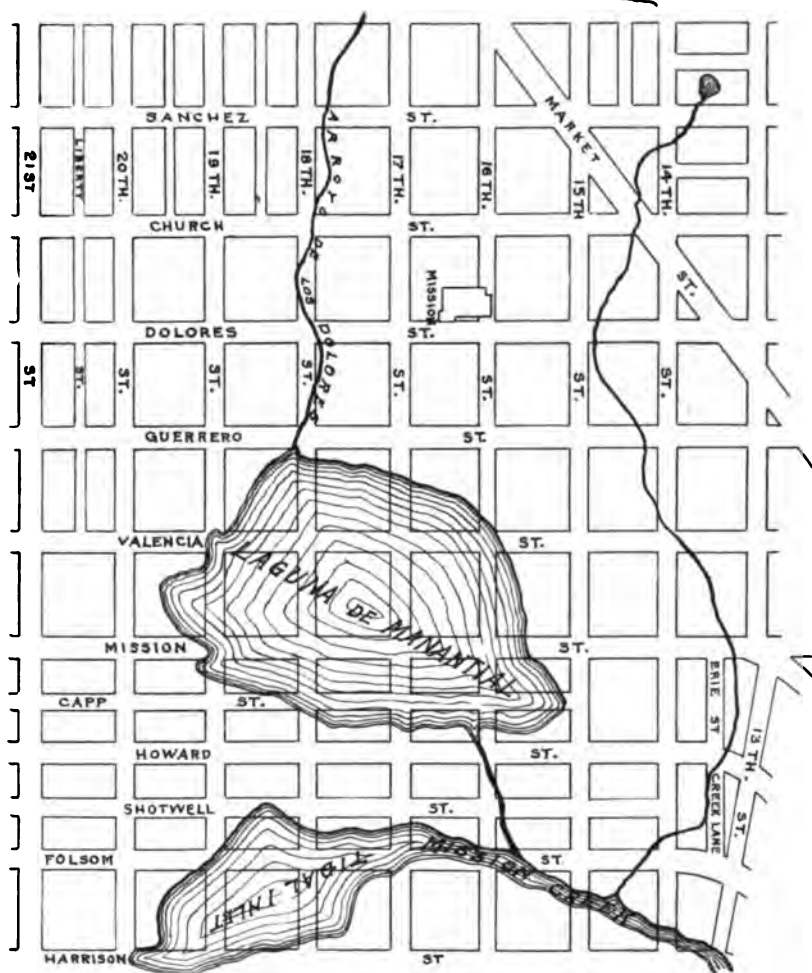


LAGUNA DE MANANTIAL (DE LOS DOLORES)

THE OLD MISSIONS OF SAN FRANCISCO.

Don Juan de Ayala, a Spanish navy commanding an expedition to the coasts of the Pacific. He was killed in 1775.

The old mission of San Francisco covered the present city of San Francisco. Twentieth, Valencia, and the new city were built up with residences. The old mission of the ancient laguna that the earthquake of 18, 1890, did such damage, wrecking the city, and costing loss of life. The Arroyo de San Francisco, Los Pechos de la Choca (The old mission of the new Twin Peaks, and the old mission of the old mission valley in 1849 says: "The old mission of San Francisco is the old mission of San Francisco in a sheltered valley which is watered by a stream that flows from the tail peaks towards the city. The mission was established in anticipation of the coming of the Spaniards in the spring, pitched their tents along Mission creek and began to build for gardens. The valley was divided into lots almost to the summit of the city. (See pp. 64, 278-9). The mission was established on the spot designated as the old mission and was never changed. The mission, which was founded in 1784, is still in use as a church.



NOTE 22

SAN JOSÉ DE GUADALUPE

The royal order for the establishment of San Francisco also included a pueblo in the vicinity under the jurisdiction of the presidio. The site selected was on the Rio de Guadalupe. Under orders of Governor Neve, Lieutenant Moraga took nine soldiers, skilled in agriculture, from the presidios of San Francisco and Monterey, five settlers (*pobladores*) and one servant, numbering with their families seventy-eight persons, and with them founded, on November 29, 1777, the pueblo of San José de Guadalupe, the first pueblo established in California.

I have found no record of the names of these fifteen heads of families. Some of them evidently did not remain, for when, in 1783, the citizens were formally invested with the title to their lands, there were but nine who received the grants. Each settler received a *solar* (house lot) of thirty-three varas, and four *suertes* (planting lots) of two hundred varas each. Surrounding each solar was an alley of ten varas in width, and around each suerte one of four varas. Each also received a yoke of oxen, two horses, two cows, one mule, two sheep, and two goats, together with the necessary implements and seed, all of which was to be paid for in farm products delivered at the royal warehouse. Each settler was to receive ten dollars per month pay and soldiers' rations. In addition to all these rights, privileges, and emoluments, each settler had the use of the common lands, *ejidos*—the four leagues provided by law for pueblos *de razon* in the Indies—for the pasturing of his cattle; and for the common use of all were the rights of the woods and waters.

The first earth-roofed structures of palisades were erected a little more than a mile north of the center of the modern city, but the site was flooded by the river freshets and the pueblo was moved to higher ground. Thus the beginning of beautiful San José, the Garden City. It had a guard of two soldiers from the presidio of San Francisco, and owing to its location and mild climate it early became the favorite place of residence for the retired soldiers (*invalidos*) of San Francisco and Monterey. Following is a list of the nine original grantees:

1. Ignacio Archuleta born in San Miguel de Horcasitas, 1754. His wife was Ignacia Gertrudis Pacheco, daughter of the soldier Juan Salvio Pacheco. He was the first alcalde of San José.

2. José Manuel Gonzales; came with Anza; see note 12.

3. José Tiburcio Vasquez; came with Anza; see note 12.

4. Manuel Domingo Amézquita; came with Anza, see note 12.

5. José Antonio Romero; born in Guadalajara in 1750; married María Petra, daughter of José Antonio Acebes.

6. Bernardo Rosales; born in Ville de Parras, Durango, in 1744; his wife was Monica, an Indian.

7. Francisco Avila; born in Villa del Fuente, Sonora, 1744. In 1790 he was living in San José, a widower, with one son. He was reported by the governor as a hard citizen.

8. Sebastian Alvitre, was a soldier of Portolá's expedition. He was an incorrigible scamp and, like Avila spent most of his time in jail. About 1786 he was sent to Los Angeles because San José could no longer stand him, and Los Angeles passed him on.

9. Claudio Alvires; born in Tetauch, Sonora, 1742; wife, Ana María Gonzales. He was also in constant trouble with the authorities and they were finally obliged to ship him out of the country. The condition (*calidad*) of these original grantees, as shown by the *padron* of 1790, is as follows: Españoles 3; Coyote, (Half-breed) 1; Indio, 1; Mulato, 2; Mestizo, 1; unknown, 1.

NOTE 23

DON FERNANDO JAVIER
DE RIVERA Y MONCADA

The genesis of California contains no more notable figure than that of Don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada. Quarrelsome, jealous, self-willed, and impatient of control or advice as he was, his abilities were recognized by the government which found constant employment for them, though his limitations were ascertained by one trial of independent command in California. He was captain in command of the presidio of Loreto in Baja California when Galvez organized the first expedition and was by him placed second in command to Portolá. He was given command of the first land division of that expedition and was thus the first explorer to enter California by land. On the march to Monterey Rivera commanded the rear guard. When Fages was recalled in September 1773, Rivera was appointed to succeed him and assumed command of the California establishments May 24, 1774. He had been captain of presidial troops for seventeen years; he had resented the preference shown Fages by Portolá, both officers of the regular army, and in relieving Fages of his command at Monterey his manner was arrogant and his demands peremptory. The padres who found Fages difficult now found Rivera impossible. He was aggressive, overbearing, and hard to get along with. He would neither listen to advice nor permit any suggestions whatever regarding the affairs of the province, and he opposed the padres in everything. The viceroy, Bucaréli, requested Rivera to keep on terms with the priests, as

friction between the military and religious organizations retarded the conversion of the natives. Bucaréli's suggestions were unheeded and on July 20, 1776, the viceroy ordered Felipe de Neve, governor of the Californias to take up his residence at Monterey. Rivera was ordered to Loreto and given the post of lieutenant-governor of Baja California. In 1781 Rivera was detailed to enlist recruits for the military service of California and settlers for the proposed pueblo on the Porciúncula (Los Angeles). This was his last service. He recruited his men in Sonora and in June 1781 arrived at the junction of the Gila and Colorado with forty-two *soldados de cuera* for the California presidios. These with their families he sent across the desert to San Gabriel under a guard of veteran soldiers, and with a personal escort of ten to twelve men remained in camp on the left bank of the Colorado opposite the mission of La Purisima Concepcion to await the return of the guard sent with the recruits. On July 17th the Yumas rose, and under the leadership of Palma destroyed the missions of La Purisima Concepcion and San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, and then crossed the river and slew Rivera and all his men. Thus perished a brave and gallant officer, an indefatigable explorer, and one of the most famous of the founders of California.

NOTE 24

THE COLORADO RIVER

In February 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado started from Compostela at the head of an army of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians to conquer the Seven Cities of Cibola. To co-operate with the army and to carry the heavy baggage, a fleet of two vessels sailed from Acapulco May 9th under command of Hernando de Alarcon whose instructions were to sail as close to the coast as possible and keep in communication with the army. For a time the course of the army and that of the ships was parallel, but from San Hieronimo de los Corazones (modern Ures) the route of the army was north, and from Cibola (Zuñi) it was east-northeast while the trend of the coast was northwest.

Alarcon sailed to the head of the gulf of California and discovered that California was not an island, as had been supposed, but a peninsula. He also came on August 26, 1540, at the head of the gulf, to a great river which at its mouth was two leagues wide. Alarcon gave the river the name Rio de Buena Guia—Good Guide river, and he ascended it, he says, eighty-five leagues.

After the departure of Coronado's army from Corazones Captain Melchior Diaz, who had been left by Coronado in command of the town, took twenty-five of the most efficient men and went to find the coast and the ships of Alarcon. Taking guides, Diaz traveled north and west and in a journey of about one hundred and fifty leagues, came, perhaps in October 1540, to a province of exceedingly tall and strong men living on a great river, which by reason of a practice these men had of carrying in cold weather a firebrand (*tison*) to warm themselves,

the Spaniards called Rio del Tison*—River of the Firebrand. Diaz probably traveled by Horcasitas and Caborca, thence across the desert of the Papaguería by the route afterwards taken by Kino in 1701 and by Anza in 1774, by way of the wells of San Eduardo Baipia; San Luis de Bacapa—Anza calls it Quitobac, the Papago name—to San Marcelo de Sonoitac; thence via the Camino del Diablo to the Colorado. Quitobac may be found on the map of Mexico and it is connected with the Gulf of California by a little railroad running to San Jorge's bay. The distance traveled by Diaz to the Colorado is about one hundred and thirty-eight leagues.

Diaz learned from these Indians (Yumas) that there had been ships at a point three days' journey down the river and proceeding thither found written on a tree: "Alarcon reached this place; there are letters at the foot of this tree." Digging up the letters Diaz learned that Alarcon had waited long for news of the army and that he had gone back with the ships to New Spain, because he was unable to proceed farther since this sea was a bay, which was formed by the Isle of the Marquis (Cortes),† which is called California; and it was explained that California was not an island but a point of the mainland forming the other side of that gulf.

Passing up the river five or six days' journey Diaz, with the help of his Indian allies, crossed it on rafts and continued his exploration. Here he met with a grievous accident and his men retreated carrying their dying captain and fighting with hostile Indians. Diaz lived twenty days and after his death his men returned to Sonora.

In 1605 Juan de Oñate reached the mouth of the Colorado, coming overland from Santa Fé, and named it

*See Anza's description of the Yumas, chapter iii.

†Cortes was given the title of Marques del Valle de Oaxaca.

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Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza (Good Hope). In his journey he crossed that branch of the river now known as Colorado Chiquito (Little Colorado) and named it Rio Colorado a name which was later extended to the principal river.

NOTE 25

LIEUTENANT WILKES

Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, United States Navy, commanding a fleet of six vessels engaged on a scientific exploring expedition, reached San Francisco October 19, 1841. From the Columbia river he had sent the sloop-of-war Vincennes under command of Lieutenant Ringgold who, from August 20th, had been exploring the bay and San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers. Another party under Lieutenant Emmons had been sent overland from Oregon and reached Sutter's fort October 19th. Wilkes' *Narrative*, that part of it relating to California, is a mass of misinformation concerning the climate, soil, and people. His criticism of the inhabitants appears to have been drawn from all the ill-natured accounts of disgruntled foreigners who had gone before, and he seems to accept for truth any statement discreditable to the people, however absurd. His statements are mostly hearsay, for his experience among the people was confined to a trip of two or three days to Santa Clara and San José and back to San Francisco. He says (vol. v, p. 153): "At Yerba Buena there was a similar absence of all authority. The only officer was the alcalde who dwells at the mission of Nostra Señora de los Dolores some three miles off. He was full of self-importance, making up for what he wanted in the eyes of others by a high estimate of his own dignity. I could find no one who could furnish me with his name, which must be my apology for not recording it in this place." This is ridiculous. The alcalde (*juex de paz*) was Don Francisco Guerrero, a man as well known as any in northern California; owner of Rancho Laguna de

la Merced and a man of sufficiently high standing among Americans to be elected sub-prefect of the district, 1849-1850. Again Wilkes says: "The state of society here is exceedingly loose; envy, hatred, and malice predominate in almost every breast, and the people are wretched under their present rulers; female virtue, I regret to say, is also at a low ebb; and the coarse and lascivious dances which meet the plaudits of the lookers-on show the degraded tone of manners that exists" (p. 198). "They have a reputation for hospitality, but will take money if offered through a servant, and will swindle a guest should he wish to hire or buy anything." His own experience during the only time he was brought in personal contact with them should make his cheek burn with shame for writing such stuff. This very censorious gentleman made, as I have said, a trip to Santa Clara and San José, and records the hospitable and courteous treatment he received throughout. Going in his ship's launch to the Embarcadero de Santa Clara (now Alviso) he there took horse for the mission, six miles distant. It being late at night he stopped with his companions about midway at the rancho house of one of the Peraltas. The family were in bed and asleep, but after considerable hammering the officers succeeded in arousing Peralta, who is described as a large Californian over six feet in height with the countenance of a ruffian. Making known their wants they were courteously invited to enter while Peralta awakened his wife and daughters who proceeded to get up a hot supper of beef, tortillas, tea, etc., most appetizing and welcome to the weary travelers, while the rancho looked after their horses. While the mother was serving the supper the daughters changed the beds, and on finishing their supper the guests were shown to their room where comfortable beds with fresh sheets awaited them. The mother and daughters

had given up their beds and bestowed themselves elsewhere; but so quietly was this done the guests were unaware of it until morning. A comfortable breakfast awaited their rising, after which they set out on their journey. There were eight of them; and there was nothing to pay. Arriving at the mission of Santa Clara they were hospitably received by the administrador and the priest, Father Mercado. Wilkes says that the administrador, tired of his own name, had taken the name of his wife, Aliza, one of the most famous in early times. Señora Aliza entertained the visitors with a most delicious repast, prepared with her own hands; after which they went to the pueblo of San José. Here they were received by the alcalde (sub-prefect) whom Wilkes calls "Don Pedro"; says he was a Frenchman who had been twenty years in the country, and who, he says, had the appearance of a French pastry cook. This was Don Antonio Suñol who was a Spaniard—however much he may have looked, in the eyes of Commander Wilkes, like a French pastry cook. They were entertained by Suñol and returned to Santa Clara for more of "Señora Aliza's" deliciously cooked food, and thence by horse to Yerba Buena. The administrator of Santa Clara who had "taken his wife's name," was Don Ignacio Alviso who came, a child of three years, with his father, Corporal Domingo Alviso, with the Anza expedition. His wife's name was Margarita Bernal.

The foregoing will give some idea regarding the accuracy of this accomplished officer's observation of a people who received him and his officers everywhere with courteous hospitality, who permitted him to enter their harbors, ascend their rivers and spy out the weakness of their hold upon the country, and the care with which he prepared his report to his government. I have given but few of his comments on the inhabitants; they are too

absurd. His miscalling of Spanish names is inexcusable in the work of an educated officer. The Carquines straits he calls Kaquines; the Cosumnes is Cosmenes; the Moquelumne is the Mogueles; Natividad is Nativetes; José de la Guerra y Noriega is Señor Noniga; San Joaquin is San Joachin, etc. He asserts that the land between San Francisco and San José is unfit for cultivation; a large part of the Sacramento valley is undoubtedly barren and unproductive, and must forever remain so; the country was involved in anarchy and confusion, without laws or security of person or property. With California is associated the idea of a fine climate. "This at least was the idea with which I entered its far-famed port; but I soon found from the reports of the officers that their experience altogether contradicted the received opinion." Only a small portion of the country offers any agricultural advantages. A Californian is content with coarse fare, provided he can get enough strong drink to minister to his thirst. "The palm for intemperance was, I think, generally given to the padres."

The report of Wilkes was very much quoted by writers of the period, and of the accuracy of his observation and the justness of his comments the reader can judge.

NOTE 26

BUCARÉLI

El Bailio Frey Don Antonio María Bucaréli y Ursúa lieutenant-general of the royal armies, was a nobleman of the highest rank, a soldier of distinction, and the forty-sixth viceroy of New Spain. His address of El Bailio Frey is that of a knight commander of Malta. Bucaréli was not only a great but a good man and the term of his rule was the happiest that New Spain had experienced. Peace and prosperity reigned and the country took long strides in advance. He took the oath of office September 3, 1771, and his untimely death April 9, 1779, spread sorrow throughout the land, for he had won the title of *Virey amado por la pax de su gobierno*—Viceroy beloved for the peace of his government.

NOTE 27
CONCEPCION ARGÜELLO

Nicolai Petrovich Rezánof, chamberlain of the tsar, appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of Japan and imperial inspector of the Russian American Company, arrived in Sitka in September 1805 where he found the Russian colony in a pitiful state of starvation, sickness, and misery. In the hope of obtaining provisions from the Spanish settlements of California he loaded a small ship with a cargo of goods likely to be pleasing to the Californians and sailed for San Francisco where he arrived on the 4th of April 1806. The comandante, Don José Argüello, was absent at Monterey and had left his son, Don Luis, then an ensign, in command. Rezánof was hospitably received and entertained by the comandante and during the long negotiations with the provincial government which followed was received as a friend by the Argüello family. Among the lovely daughters of the comandante, Doña Concepcion had the name of being the beauty of California. She was just over sixteen and in a country where girls married at thirteen might be considered as being at the height of her loveliness. The advent of the distinguished and handsome courtier into her little uneventful world naturally impressed the girl. Rezánof, though no longer youthful, and a widower, was of fine presence and had a very attractive face. He fell desperately in love with the pretty Doña Concepcion and his passion being reciprocated he demanded of Don José the hand of his daughter. Finding his child's happiness at stake, Don José gave a reluctant consent, providing, of course, that Rezánof obtained the consent of his imperial master. The consent of the friars was more difficult, but with the combined effort of all it was finally obtained with

the understanding that the betrothal should be kept secret until the decision of the pope should be known, Rezánof being of the Greek church. With the signing of the betrothal contract Rezánof found himself, as a member of the family, in much better condition for obtaining the supplies he needed, and in May sailed for Sitka with a full cargo of grain and other provisions for his starving colonists.

In September Rezánof set out from Okhotsk in Siberia for an overland trip to St. Petersburg, to report to the tsar and obtain his consent to a marriage with the fair Californian. Weakened by the hardship of the past year he was unable to endure the long journey. He was seized with a violent fever and died at Krasnoyarsk, in central Siberia.

In far California Doña Concepcion waited for her lover's return. The years passed and no word came. Constant to his memory she refused to listen to words of love from other suitors, but devoted her life to works of charity. After the death of her parents she lived with the De la Guerra family in Santa Barbara. Here Sir George Simpson met her in 1843 and from him she learned, it is said, the fate of her lover. Simpson says of her: "Notwithstanding the ravages of an interval of time which had tripled her years, we could still discover in her face and figure, in her manner and conversation, the remains of those charms which had won for the youthful beauty Von Rezánof's enthusiastic love."* When the Dominicans founded their convent of St. Catherine at Benicia, Doña Concepcion entered that establishment, and there she died in 1858 at the age of sixty-seven. She enjoyed the respect and veneration of all who knew her and there were few families who could not remember some act of kindness at her hands.

*Simpson: *Narrative*, 377.

[illegible]

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NOTE 28

VALLEJO

During the session of the first legislature of California, 1850, the tediousness of daily debate over appropriations, the dry-as-dust reports of highway commissions, and all the weary detail of law making, were relieved and illumined by a tale of romance which tinged with roseate hue the somber twilight of legislative halls. The innovation came in the unwonted form of a report of a committee on the derivation and definition of the names of the counties of California, by its chairman, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo.

Said the distinguished senator: (in part) "The following circumstance which happened during the first months of the foundation of San Luis Obispo is insignificant in itself, but the writer cannot help but dwell upon it for a moment with the most tender feelings of the heart.

"As a matter of course at that period, few families had as yet immigrated to this country and the female sex was an oasis in the desert. The writer's father was one of the many who emigrated here in bachelorship, and while sojourning in San Luis Obispo he unexpectedly met with a lady who was in travail, and about to bring a new being into the world; and as there was no one, save her husband, to assist her, he acted as *tenedor* (holder). The lady was safely delivered of a girl, whereupon the *tenedor*, then a young man, solicited of the parents the hand of their child and a formal agreement ensued between the parties, conditional, that if at a mature age, the girl would willingly consent to the union the ceremony would be duly performed. * * * Time rolled by and year after year transpired until the



MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

Born in Monterey, July 7, 1808; died in Sonoma, January 18, 1890. Comandante del Frontera del Norte; Comandante-general of California; Director of colonization; favored American domination; member of the Constitutional Convention and of the California Senate.



muchacha (girl) had reached her fourteenth year, when the marriage took place and the offspring of that union has now the honor to present his readers with this short biographical sketch.”*

Ignacio Vicente Ferrer Vallejo was born in La Hacienda de los Santos de las Cañadas in the bishopric of Guadalajara, Mexico, July 29, 1748. He was the son of Geronimo Vallejo and Antonia Gomez, his wife. He enlisted under Rivera in 1773 and came to California with Lieutenant Ortega in 1774, serving under that officer at San Diego. In 1789 he was made a corporal and in 1805 a sergeant; that being as high as he rose, though in 1806 he was named *sargento distinguido*. He was married in Santa Barbara February 18, 1791, to the young woman at whose birth he so fortunately assisted, María Antonia Isabel de Lugo, daughter of Francisco de Lugo and Juana Villanauel his wife. He died in Monterey in 1831. His children were:

i. María Isidora, born, 1791; married Mariano Soberanes.

ii. María Josefa, born 1793; married (1) José Francisco Alvarado and became the mother of Juan Bautista Alvarado, governor of California. After her husband's death she married José Raimundo Estrada.

iii. José Ignacio, born, 1795.

iv. José de Jesus, born, 1797; married Soledad Sanchez.

v. Juana María, born, 1799.

vi. María Magdalena, born, July 23, 1803.

vii. María Prudencia, born, May 20, 1805; married José Amesti.

viii. Mariano Guadalupe, born in Monterey July 7, 1808.

**Senate Journal. First Session, 1850. p. 526.*

ix. María Encarnacion, born March 25, 1809; married Captain J. B. R. Cooper.

x. María Rosalia, born, 1811; married Jacob P. Leese.

xi. Salvador, born, 1813; married María de la Luz Carrillo.

xii. María de Jesus, born, 1815.

xiii. Juan Bautista, born, 1817.

Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, born in Monterey July 7, 1808; died in Sonoma January 18, 1890; married in San Diego March 6, 1832, Francisca Benicia Carrillo, one of the most beautiful of the handsome daughters of Don Joaquin Carrillo and María Ignacia Lopez his wife.

Vallejo entered the military service as cadet of the Monterey company January 8, 1824. He was made *alférez* (ensign) July 30, 1827; lieutenant June 22, 1835; captain July 9, 1838; lieutenant-colonel of calvary May 2, 1842. In 1838 he was made *comandante-general* of California; and previous to that had been made *comandante militar del Frontera del Norte*, with headquarters at Sonoma. A commission as colonel of cavalry was sent him September 9, 1846.*

The life of young Vallejo at Monterey was not different from other boys of his class. With young Castro, Alvarado, Estrada, and the rest, he went to school to the soldier schoolmasters and as he grew older his desire for knowledge craved other works than the lives of the saints and the *doctrina Christiana*. Governor Sola took much interest in the boys and helped them to obtain a few books of a more secular nature, and as they grew older they made use of their opportunities in procuring from visiting ship-masters such books as could be had

*He also held a commission of colonel under the independency of 1836.

which they carefully concealed from the vigilant eyes of the padres ever on guard to confiscate and destroy books of heretical tendency.

In 1830 Vallejo was assigned to the San Francisco company of which he was made comandante in 1831. He made several campaigns against the Indians and in 1834 was sent as comisionado to secularize the mission of San Francisco Solano. He was a member of the territorial diputacion in 1827, and for several years thereafter, and in 1834 was granted the Petaluma rancho. In 1835 Vallejo was instructed to lay out a pueblo at the Solano mission, was made director of colonization at the north, and was authorized to issue grants of land to settlers; the scheme being to prevent, by Spanish colonization, further extension of the Russian establishment of Ross. Vallejo laid out the pueblo and gave it the Indian name of the valley, Sonoma—Valley of the Moon. He labored very earnestly to establish his pueblo and succeeded in attracting a number of families to it. He transferred the San Francisco company to Sonoma and also organized a company of about fifty Indians whom he drilled in the manual of arms. After the neglect of the Mexican government to pay its soldiers had caused the presidial companies to disband, Vallejo supported his military establishment for several years at his own expense. In 1834 he took the preliminary steps for establishing a civil government at San Francisco and on January 1, 1835, turned over to the ayuntamiento the control of civil affairs of that pueblo. He was untiring in his efforts to settle and develop the northern frontier and through his wise management and influence with the Indian chiefs the peace of the frontier was rarely broken. In the rising of Alvarado and Castro against Gutierrez he took no active part, though his sympathies were with his nephew, Alvarado, and he accepted office

under the government formed by him. He was now (1837) the foremost man in California as he was one of the richest. Over the hills of his princely estate of Petaluma roamed ten thousand cattle, four to six thousand horses, and many thousand sheep. He occupied a baronial castle on the plaza at Sonoma, where he entertained all who came with most royal hospitality and few travelers of note came to California without visiting him. At Petaluma he had a great ranch house called La Hacienda and on his home farm, Lachryma Montis (Tear of the Mountain), he built, about 1849, a modern frame house where he spent the later years of his life.

Vallejo's attitude towards the Russians at Fort Ross and Bodega was firm and dignified. He maintained that the Russians were on California soil and he notified the Russian manager, Rotchef, that while the use of the port of Bodega by the Russians was tolerated, if he permitted foreigners to land and enter the country in defiance of law he must not be surprised if he found Mexican troops stationed there.

Vallejo also objected to Sutter's establishing an independent principality in the Sacramento valley and his assumption of authority to wage war upon the natives, to grant passports, and to exercise other prerogatives of sovereignty. This made Sutter very angry and he announced that if he were interfered with he would not only defend himself but would declare the independence of California from the Mexican rule.

We have seen (in chapter xi) the ineffectual attempts of Vallejo to revive the military establishment of California. He had cause to be dissatisfied with the administration of Alvarado, who, giving himself up to luxurious ease and dissipation had largely left the management of affairs to the politicians that surrounded him. Juan Bautista Alvarado was a young man of excellent ability,

fairly well educated for his time, of handsome person and courteous manners, and of great popularity and influence with all classes. He was born in Monterey February 14, 1809, and was son of José Francisco Alvarado and María Josefa Vallejo, and his grandfather, Juan Bautista Alvarado, was a soldier of Portolá's expedition, 1769. Alvarado's marriage to Doña Martina Castro, daughter of Francisco María Castro, at the mission of Santa Clara August 24, 1839, was a notable event and was attended by all the great in social and political life. Alvarado, who was then governor, was ill at Monterey and was represented by his half-brother, José Antonio Estrada, who as his proxy, stood at the altar with the bride. The governor was at this time thirty years of age, and of most distinguished appearance; but already the habit of excessive drinking was upon him and it soon became so confirmed that he was frequently unable, through "illness," to perform his official duties.

Disappointed in his expectation of reform in the government and in the failure of what he considered necessary measures for the national defence, Vallejo wrote the supreme government in 1841 giving his opinion of Alvarado's rule, stating his belief that the country was going to ruin, and asking to be relieved of his command. He recommended that the offices of governor and comandante-general be united in one person. Later in December of that year he pointed out to the minister of war the illness of California and suggested the remedy that should be applied. California as a country was nowhere excelled in natural advantages of climate, soil, and harbors, and it had all the elements of a grand prosperity, needing only an energetic population and wise regulations. The land was capable of every product for the welfare of a happy and prosperous people yet they imported most of the articles they consumed. A

man free from ties of relationship with the people should be placed at the head of affairs and invested with both civil and military authority; a force of at least two hundred men should be sent in charge of competent officers; the fort at San Francisco should be rebuilt and a custom house established there; a colony of Mexican artisans and farmers should be sent to the country to counterbalance the influx of foreigners; and many other recommendations were made.

The result of Vallejo's dispatches was the appointment of Micheltorena to the offices of governor and comandante-general. Having been instrumental in bringing Micheltorena into California Vallejo stood his friend and fed his army, and also loaned him several thousand dollars in money. For this assistance Micheltorena, having no funds with which to pay Vallejo, granted him, in June 1844, the Rancho Nacional Soscol, in what is now Solano county.

In the rising against Micheltorena Vallejo took no part, but he made an indignant protest against Sutter's arming foreigners and Indians against his country. He advised Micheltorena that he was well esteemed by the Californians and would be still more highly thought of if he would send his cholos away. He would not take an active part against the governor, but to avoid sending him reinforcements and defend a band of convicts whose presence he deemed a curse to California, he disbanded his Sonoma forces November 28, 1844, and so notified the governor, saying he could no longer support them at his own expense as he had been doing.

Always friendly to the immigrants Vallejo exceeded his authority in protecting them, and in this and in openly advocating the cause of the United States, his great influence was always used for the American cause, notwithstanding the treatment he received. One can

hardly conceive a more ungrateful return for the kindness to immigrants and help to Americans than to be seized and confined in a dismal prison by these same immigrants and kept there long after the United States authorities had taken possession and the United States flag was flying over his prison house. On September 15, 1846, he wrote Larkin: "I left the Sacramento half dead and arrived here (Sonoma) almost without life, but am now much better. * * * The political change has cost a great deal to my person and mind and likewise to my property. I have lost more than one thousand live horned cattle, six hundred tame horses, and many other things of value which were taken from my house here and at Petaluma. My wheat crops are entirely lost, for the cattle ate them up in the field and I assure you that two hundred fanegas of sowing,* in good condition as mine was, is a considerable loss. All is lost and the only hope for making it up is to work again."†

That Vallejo's services to the American cause were appreciated by some of the officers is shown by a letter from Captain Montgomery of the Portsmouth dated September 25, 1846. The Captain sends hearty thanks "for the service you have rendered as well as for the prompt and sincere manner in which you were pleased to tender your assistance to the government of the United States in the recent emergency, and to your associates whose ready obedience to your call has done much towards allaying natural prejudices and unfriendly suspicions among the various classes comprising the society of California, and for hastening arrangements for the establishment of peace, order, and good government in the country."‡

*Represents a crop of about 25,000 bushels.

†*Larkin Doc. iv. 280.*

‡*Vallejo Doc. xii. 242.*

I quote these letters because they represent the character of the man far better than any words of mine can, and how did the United States require the services of this man? By passing laws which by their action deprived him of all his property and changed his condition from that of the richest man in California to one of comparative poverty. The land commission confirmed his grant of Rancho Nacional Soscol. The government carried it to the district court which confirmed the action of the land commission. The government appealed the case to the supreme court which rejected the claim on the ground that the Mexican government gave away its land in California but could not sell government land for food furnished its soldiers. A most astounding decision. In 1863 Congress by special act permitted the holders of Vallejo titles to buy their land at a dollar and a quarter an acre. His great rancho of Petaluma, ten leagues, to which he added five leagues more by purchase—sixty-six thousand acres—nothing remains but the little home farm and residence, Lachryma Montis. This is the possession and home of his two youngest daughters and the spring which gives it its name supplies the town of Sonoma with water, and the daughters with a small income. The claim to the Petaluma rancho was not confirmed until 1875, after General Vallejo, tired of fighting squatters and lawyers had given up his right to the land.*

On December 22, 1846, Vallejo deeded to Robert Semple an undivided half of a tract of five square miles of the Soscol rancho, on the straits of Carquines, for a new city to be built which was to be the great seaport and commercial city of the bay of San Francisco. The town was to be named Francisca, in honor of Vallejo's

*Vallejo: *Historia de California*, MS. iv. 386.

wife, Doña Francisca Benicia Carrillo. Thomas O. Larkin became interested in the venture and took over the greater part of Vallejo's interest. The attempt to appropriate the name, as well as the commercial supremacy of San Francisco was frustrated by an order of Alcalde Washington A. Bartlett requiring the name San Francisco substituted for Yerba Buena on all public documents. Doctor Semple was very indignant at this action and spluttered over it in the *Californian* which he had removed from Monterey to San Francisco. To prevent confusion the name of Francisca was changed to Benicia, the second name of Señora Vallejo. The site for the city was a beautiful one, but trade did not leave San Francisco, though General Persifer F. Smith removed the army headquarters to the city on the strait. The attempt was made to have Benicia named capital of California and General Vallejo made most generous offers to the legislature of land and money if they would move the capital thither.

Vallejo was a member of the constitutional convention and he applied himself to the work of creating a state with energy and diligence. In common with the other Californians in the convention he endeavored to protect the interests of the natives of the country. The seal of California caused much discussion. Major R. S. Garnett made a design which was accepted, but the members insisted upon the addition of various features. At last when all was agreed the bear emblem was brought forward. Some of the California members were very angry and protested against the bear being used. General Vallejo said that if the bear was put on the seal it should be represented as under the control of a vaquero with a lasso around its neck.

Bayard Taylor says, writing of the convention: "One of the most intelligent and influential of the Californians is General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, whom I had the

pleasure of meeting several times during my stay in Monterey. As military commandant during the governorship of Alvarado, he exercised almost supreme sway over the country. He is a man of forty-five years of age, tall and of a commanding presence; his head is large, forehead high and ample, and eyes dark, with a grave, dignified expression. He is better acquainted with our institutions and laws than any other native Californian."* Thomes says: (1843) "The next morning, when all hands were called I was again dispatched to Señora Abarono's (Briones) rancho for milk, as General M. G. Vallejo was on board and it was necessary to give him a feast, he owning half a million acres of land, and fifty thousand head of cattle, so it was reported. * * * He was a very gentlemanly Mexican, and quite affable to us boys, often giving us a silver dollar for pulling him on board the ship and on shore." William Kelly says: "I waited on the general, (at his Sonoma house in 1850) who is an enormously rich man, and was received with the greatest courtesy and hospitality. He is a fine, handsome man, in the prime of life, of superior attainments and great natural talent: the only native Californian in the senate. His lady is also possessed of unusual personal attractions and of that easy dignity and cordiality of manner so peculiarly characteristic of Spanish ladies. His house is a fine one superbly furnished and wanting in nothing that comfort or luxury requires."†

In common with most Californians General Vallejo was most careless and improvident when money was plenty, and while he realized large sums from the sale of lands and cattle, his later years were passed in comparative poverty. The town of Vallejo was named for

**El Dorado*. 157.

On Land and Sea. 214.

†*A Stroll through the Diggings of California*. 54.

him and a street in San Francisco bears his name. He had sixteen children, of whom ten lived to maturity. One daughter married John B. Frisbie, captain of company H, Stevenson's regiment, and another married his brother Levi. One married Arpad Harasthy and the two younger daughters married Don Ricardo de Empáron and James H. Cutter.

NOTE 29

PIO PICO

THE LAST MEXICAN GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

Pio Pico, son of José María Pico and María Estaquia Gutierrez, *su legítima esposa*, was born at the mission of San Gabriel May 5, 1801. His grandfather, Santiago de la Cruz Pico, his father and his mother, all came with the expedition of Juan Bautista de Anza in 1776. His father and mother were married in San Diego May 10, 1789, and had:

i. José Antonio Bernardino; born, San Diego May 21, 1794.

ii. María Concepcion Nicanor; born, San Diego January 14, 1797; married Domingo Carrillo.

iii. María Tomasa; born, San Diego January 20, 1799; married Francisco Javier Alvarado, 3d. It was she whom Dana called upon in San Diego in 1859 and was the only person of the old upper class of those friends of 1835-6 whom he could find there.

iv. Pio; born, San Gabriel May 5, 1801.

v. María Casimira; married José Joaquin Gerónimo de Ortega. Doña Trinidad de Ortega, their daughter, born in 1832, was of such rare beauty that Don Antonio de Coronel, a friend of her father, called her La Primavera (the spring time) and named Spring street (La Primavera) in Los Angeles in her honor. She married Miguel Carlos Francisco María de la Guerra.

vi. Andrés; born, San Diego November 30, 1810; died, Los Angeles, 1875.

vii. María Isidora; married John Forster.

viii. María Estéfana; married José Antonio Carrillo.

ix. María Jacinta; married José Antonio Carrillo (his second wife).

x. Feliciana. It was one of these sisters of Pio Pico that was so kind to the forlorn boy, James Ohio Pattie, in the prison at San Diego in 1828.

Pio Pico's boyhood was spent in San Diego where he grew up, went to school to José Antonio Carrillo, later his brother-in-law, and was acolyte for the padres. In 1821 he kept a little pulpería in San José. The first we hear of him in public life was in 1826 when he was clerk of a court-martial in San Diego. In 1828 he was elected a member of the *territorial diputacion* and was thenceforth more or less prominently connected with the political affairs of the territory. He headed a revolt against Governor Victoria in 1831 and on the overthrow of that official was named by the diputacion *jefe politico* (governor) ad interim, January 11, 1832. The ayuntamiento of Los Angeles refused to recognize Pico as governor and declared in favor of Echeandía, while Pico withdrew saying he declined to retain the office in opposition to the wish of the people. On the expulsion of Micheltorena the *junta departmental* declared Pico governor ad interim February 15, 1845. This was confirmed by the supreme government at Mexico and Pico took the oath as constitutional governor of California April 18, 1846. The period of Pico's political activity was one of revolution, of contest between the north and south and between the civil and military authorities. Through the influence of José Antonio Carrillo, diputado to the Mexican congress, that body decreed that "The Pueblo of Los Angeles in Alta California is erected into a city, and it will be in future the capital of that territory." This order was proclaimed May 23, 1835. The Monterey

ayuntamiento protested against the proposed change as outrageously detrimental if not fatal to the best interests of the territory, while the diputacion concurred and decided to remain in Monterey. The governor, Figueroa, ignored the order as did Castro, Gutierrez, Chico, Alvarado, and Micheltorena; Los Angeles protesting all the time and fighting for her right to be the capital of the territory. The only interruption in this agitation was when Micheltorena remained for six months at Los Angeles, and after his cholos had stolen everything eatable in the south, Los Angeles relinquished her claim to the honor of being the governor's residence and congratulated Monterey on its acquisition. It was not until the appointment of Pico in February 1845 that Los Angeles came into her own. Pico made it his capital.

The controversy between José Castro, comandante-general, and Governor Pico immediately preceding the American occupation was the question of civil or military supremacy. Castro was alarmed by the aggressive attitude of the American adventurers in the north while Pico made light of the trouble and believed, with some cause, that Castro was making this a pretense for accumulating an army for the purpose of overthrowing him. The revenues, too, were largely in Castro's hands, Monterey being the chief port of entry, and Castro allowed the civil government one-third of the receipts claiming two-thirds for the military department as, under instructions from the supreme government, it was his duty to defend the country and he had that right. Castro convened a junta of military officers at Monterey to take measures for defense and Pico deeming this a usurpation of his prerogative prepared to march against Castro with an army of eighty men, and had reached Santa Barbara when he received the startling news of the capture of Sonoma and the raising of the bear flag.

Pico's course during the conquest was not heroic, but what could he do? On the landing of Sloat he issued a proclamation calling upon all Mexican citizens, native and naturalized, every man without exception, between the ages of fifteen and sixty, to present himself to the government, armed for the national defense.

To this order there was little or no response. Many Californians of influence were in sympathy with the invaders; others felt that a struggle was useless and all were more or less influenced by the advice of Larkin and other American friends whose efforts were directed to effecting a peaceful change of flag.

Castro joined Pico at Los Angeles with one hundred men; Pico had his original army of eighty, with a few additional men obtained at Santa Barbara. Meanwhile Stockton landed three hundred and fifty men at San Pedro and Castro sent commissioners to negotiate with him. Stockton demanded, as a preliminary to negotiations, that the Californians declare their independence of Mexico and raise the American flag. Castro considered this an insulting proposition to be made to the commander-in-chief of the Mexican forces and he determined to leave California rather than suffer the humiliation of capture. In a letter to Pico, August 9th, he says that notwithstanding the governor's efforts to assist him in preparing for the defence of the department, he can only count on one hundred men, badly armed, worse supplied, and discontented, and he has reason to fear that not even these few men will fight when the necessity arises. He will, therefore, leave the country and report to the supreme government and he invited the governor to go with him.

Pico submitted the letter to the junta August 10th, and announced the impossibility of a successful defence. He recommended that the assembly should dissolve in

order that the enemy might find none of the departmental authorities acting. The assembly approved Pico's resolve and after appropriate expressions of patriotism by the members the last junta departmental of California adjourned *sine die*.

Pico and Castro left the capital on the night of August 10th. Castro after disbanding his military force took the road to the Colorado river, accompanied by a few friends. He returned to California in 1848 under a passport from Colonel Mason and lived for some years at Monterey as a private citizen. Pico retired to the Santa Margarita rancho where he was concealed by his brother-in-law, John Forster, for about a month while Frémont's men searched for him. He escaped into Lower California and in November crossed the gulf to Guaymas. He returned to California in July 1848, and announced that he came as Mexican governor of California to carry out the terms of the armistice agreed upon between the generals commanding the forces of Mexico and those of the United States, and requested the co-operation of his excellency, Governor Mason. Mason ordered Colonel Stevenson, commanding the southern department, to arrest Pico, hold him incommunicado, and send him by sea to Monterey, whence he intended to ship him to Oregon, fearing his absurd pretensions might incite some of his countrymen to seditious acts. Three days later Mason received the text of the treaty which provided for the release of all prisoners and he immediately instructed Colonel Stevenson to release him.

The period of Pio Pico's administration was one of unrest, of internal strife, and the constant warring of factions for privilege and for personal advantage. The land was being invaded by armed bands of rough adventurers who freely expressed their contempt for the owners of the soil and scarcely concealed their intention to

appropriate the territory. Without vigor or determination or a force to compel obedience to his commands, Pico was utterly unable to oppose the manifest destiny of the weak to be ruled by the strong, and apparently made no effort to stem the current which was sweeping his country into the hands of a foreign power.

Don Pio has been severely criticised for his mission policy, somewhat unjustly perhaps, for there is no evidence that either he or his friends profited by the sale of the missions. In regard to land matters there is more reason to believe him blamable. Up to the 7th of July, when Sloat proclaimed the sovereignty of the United States, the grants made by him were apparently regular and in accord with the law. The belief that California was about to be absorbed by the United States caused an extraordinary demand for land, and if Pico gave it away with a free hand I cannot see that he should be censured for it. He was within his legal rights, and he was no friend of the United States. He favored English ascendancy and he undoubtedly signed the McNamara grant of three thousand square leagues with the idea of promoting English influence through the colonists to be brought into California by this concession; but in this his act was subject to the approval of the supreme government. There is little doubt, however, that some grants were signed by him after the 7th of July and antedated—grants through which certain prominent citizens of California hoped to obtain large tracts of valuable land.

Don Pio Pico was married in Los Angeles February 24, 1834, to María Ignacia Alvarado, daughter of Francisco Javier Alvarado and María Ignacia Amador his wife. The wedding was a great event in Los Angeles and General José Figueroa (the governor) was groomsman. María Ignacia died February 2, 1854, and Pico married,

order that the enemy might find none of the territorial mental authorities acting. The assembly resolved and after appropriate expression by the members the last junta departed adjourned sine die.

Pico and Castro left the capital on the 10th. Castro after disbanding the road to the Colorado river, friends. He returned to California with a passport from Colonel Maso at Monterey as a private Santa Margarita rancho brother-in-law, John For Frémont's men searched California and in November He returned to California that he came as Minister out the terms of the generals command of the United States his excellency, Stevenson, arrested Pico, sent him by sea to Monterey, Oregon, some of the later Mission for the structure

NOTES

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and the foreign power.

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and nations there is none

by the 10th of July

by the 10th of July

by the 10th of July

by the 10th of July

NOTE 30

JOHN A. SUTTER

tter was born of Swiss parents in
 uary 15, 1803. He served his
 and was, for a time, an officer
 ury of that republic. Having
 Bern, he sailed for America
 is family who joined him
 Landing in New York
 uis and later to Santa
 en who had been in
 country's climate,
 v of seven and
 California by
 oisé, and Fort
 a October, six months
 no vessel soon to sail for
 or Honolulu. From Honolulu
 erican coast April 20, 1839, as super-
 English brig Clementina, landing first at
 ence down the coast to San Francisco bay
 he entered July 1st. He brought with him three
 or four white men and eight or ten kanakas for his Cali-
 fornia rancho. He also brought letters of introduction
 to the Spanish officials from James Douglas of the Hud-
 son's Bay company at Vancouver, from Russian officials
 at Sitka, and from prominent merchants at Honolulu.
 From the United States consul at Oahu he brought a
 letter to General Vallejo. In these letters he is referred
 to as formerly a captain in the French army and was
 supposed to have been a captain in the famous Swiss
 guard of Charles X. Proceeding to Monterey he was

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Without vigor or determina-

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well received—his letters opening all doors, and his pleasing manners confirming the impressions created by his recommendations. Unfolding his colonization scheme to Governor Alvarado he was by him advised to announce his intention of becoming a Mexican citizen; to go into the interior and select any unoccupied tract of land that might suit him, and to return to Monterey in a year when he should be given his papers of naturalization and a grant of his land. This suited Sutter and he returned to San Francisco, visited Vallejo at Sonoma and the Russian agent at Ross. Vallejo advised him to settle in Sonoma or Napa, but Sutter had decided on the Sacramento valley before coming to California. He wished to be far enough away from the Californians to be independent—to set up, as it were, a little province of his own. Chartering a small flotilla from Nathan Spear, he embarked his colony and his goods and set out for the Sacramento, the fleet being under command of William H. Davis. For eight days they sailed up the Sacramento river and on the afternoon of the last day entered the mouth of the American river and landed on the south bank; unloaded the cargoes; pitched the tents and mounted the cannon—three brass pieces which Sutter had brought from Honolulu. Thus the beginning of Sacramento: the inhabitants being, Captain Sutter, three white companions—names unknown—ten kanakas including two women; an Indian boy from Oregon; and a bull dog from Oahu. The site selected for the settlement was about a quarter of a mile from the landing, on high ground where two or three grass and tule houses were built by the kanakas on wooden frames put up by white men. These were ready for occupation early in September and before the rains came Sutter had completed an adobe house roofed with tules. A number of recruits were obtained before the end of the year and

Sutter had them all at work hunting, planting, and preparing for the next season's trapping operations, while the rancho was stocked with horses and cattle.

Sutter named his establishment Nueva Helvecia and in August went to Monterey to receive his naturalization papers; and as soon as the proper steps could be taken he was appointed commissioner of justice and representative of the government on the frontier of the Rio del Sacramento.

In 1841 Sutter employed Jean J. Vioget to make a survey and map of the region to be used in his application for the grant of land that had been promised him, and on August 15th filed his petition and *diseño* with the governor who made the grant August 18th of eleven square leagues (48,825 acres) on the Sacramento and Feather rivers.

Sutter pursued a wise course with the Indians and was very successful in his dealings with them. He treated them with uniform kindness and justice but with constant vigilance and prompt punishment of offenses. He had unusual tact in making friends, and he not only kept the Indians of the Sacramento on friendly terms but succeeded in obtaining from them a large amount of useful service.

In December 1841, Sutter bought the Russian post at Fort Ross consisting of houses, mills, tannery, live-stock, and implements, for thirty thousand dollars to be paid in four yearly installments. The Russian agent also gave Sutter a certificate of transfer of the land occupied by them but as they had no title they could convey none to Sutter. He removed the personal property to New Helvetia, including the guns, seventeen hundred cattle, nine hundred and forty horses, and nine hundred sheep. In 1843-4 the fort, which he had begun in 1840, was completed.

It is quite evident that Sutter had an idea that he could create an establishment that would be in a position to maintain at least a sort of independence of the Mexican government. He is described by visitors of that period as living in a principality sixty miles long by twelve broad in a state of practical independence, colonizing his lands and employing an army of workmen in raising crops and in hunting the beaver. Wilkes predicts that it will not be long before New Helvetia becomes in some respects an American colony,* while De Mofras says that Monsieur Sutter can trade independently of the custom house or the Mexican authorities.† It is not surprising that, fostered by a benign government that gave him the land for nothing, he waxed fat and kicked; and when Vallejo and others objected to some of his doings he talked of bringing in men from the Willamette and the Missouri, of Shawnees and of Delawares, and of raising the standard of the republic of California.

Sutter made strong objections to the operations of the trappers of the Hudson's Bay company in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys and peremptorily ordered the brigades to discontinue their visits. Not recognizing Sutter's authority the trappers paid no attention to his orders, but in 1841 Chief Factor James Douglas came to Monterey and arranged for permission to employ thirty hunters in California agreeing to pay a duty on each skin taken. Sutter, prevented from interfering with the company's operations, endeavored to stir up strife among the trappers and enlist them under his banner of revolt, but Vallejo was assured by Sir George Simpson, governor of the company, that none of his

**Wilkes Nar. v.* 262-3. Ringgold's report.

†*Mofras Explor. i.* 457.

men or his agents would enter into any political engagements with Sutter or any one else of an unfriendly nature towards him or the governor.

From 1841 regularly organized parties of American immigrants came across the plains to California and also from Oregon. Lying on the direct route both from the Missouri and the Willamette, Sutter's fort was the general rendezvous where all Americans were kindly welcomed and found succor and temporary employment until they could arrange with the authorities for permission to remain and settle in California. Sutter encouraged the immigration which was profitable to him and assisted the immigrants in many ways. He was generous to a degree and no appeal to him was made in vain. He gave freely whether remuneration was expected or not. He assumed the right to grant passports to foreigners which gave offence to the authorities, being contrary to the laws and against the express orders from Mexico. The alcalde of San Juan Bautista complained that foreigners holding passes from Sutter were catching the wild horses and were buying those stolen from the ranchos. In 1844 a militia company was organized at New Helvetia and Sutter was made captain. He made several expeditions against the predatory Indians of the north and did good work in protecting the frontier.

In taking up arms in the quarrel between Micheltorena and Alvarado Sutter did a blamable and foolish thing. The foreigners in California were too ready to interfere in the domestic affairs of the province, and there was too much talk about their "rights" and how they proposed to protect them. Alvarado had been Sutter's friend and benefactor and he turned his arms against him. Vallejo wrote Sutter entreating him to reflect before taking a step that must seriously disturb the friendly relations existing between the Californians and

foreigners; but Sutter would not listen. Micheltorena was going to give him and his friends large grants of land in addition to what they already had, and also other lands which Sutter could parcel out among those of his followers who did not wish to become Mexican citizens. These considerations overbalanced any Vallejo could urge and Sutter marched to meet the enemy with one hundred mounted riflemen under Captain John Gantt, one hundred Indians under Ernest Rufus, and a brass field piece in charge of eight or ten artillerymen. Dr. John Townsend, later alcalde of San Francisco, and John Sinclair, later alcalde of Sacramento district, acted as aides-de-camp; Jasper O'Farrell was quartermaster, Samuel J. Hensley, commissary, and John Bidwell, secretary. Before entering the San Fernando valley Sutter had Micheltorena sign a grant of what was known as the Sutter general title, twenty-two leagues in the Sacramento valley. Before the fight began Pio Pico, who was in command of the parliamentary army and who would, as first vocal, succeed Micheltorena, assured Sutter and his men that Micheltorena's grant and promises were worthless because lands could only be granted to Mexican citizens. He told them, however, that they would not be disturbed in their present occupation of lands, and that as soon as they chose to become citizens he would give them legal titles. On this they abandoned Micheltorena and remained out of the fight; the story of which is told in chapter xii. The grant of twenty-two leagues was thrown out by the United States supreme court as illegal. The New Helvetia grant of eleven leagues by Alvarado in 1841 was confirmed after it had passed for the most part out of Sutter's possession.

With the conquest of California Sutter was in position to become the richest and most influential man in the country. Popular, with a magnificent address and fine

presence, he had the dignity and military bearing of an old officer, while his kindly nature and courtesy drew all to him and he had in a wonderful degree the art of making friends; but he failed to realize his opportunity and lacked the ability to manage and conserve his great resources. Full of energy and audacity he was without strength to hold what he had and while possessing many good and kindly qualities he was somewhat wanting in the attributes of honesty and fidelity. His posing as an officer of the Swiss guard at the French court, which he never was but which he permitted to be reported and believed, was a piece of characteristic foolishness; but notwithstanding such weakness almost all travelers were favorably impressed with and speak well of him. His hospitality was shamefully abused by the immigrants. At the time of the discovery of gold Sutter was building, in addition to his sawmill at Coloma, a grist mill on the American river where Brighton now is. It was never completed. His men deserted to the mines, after Sutter had spent thirty thousand dollars on the mill, and everything was stolen—even the stones. The immigrants stole the bells from the fort and the weights from the gates; they carried off two hundred barrels he had made for packing salmon; they stole even his cannon; they drove their stock into his yard and helped themselves to his grain and to anything else they wanted; they squatted on his land, denied the validity of his title, cut down his timber, and drove off his cattle. Sharpers robbed him of what the squatters did not take until at last he was stripped of everything. The California legislature in 1864 provided him a pension of two hundred and fifty dollars a month. This was continued until 1878 when the bill was defeated. He died in Washington D. C. in 1880, in comparative poverty.

In person Sutter was about five feet, nine inches in height and was thickset. He had a large head and an open manly face, somewhat hardened and bronzed by his life in the open air. His hair was thin and light and he wore a short mustache. Thomes wrote in 1844: "One day a flat boat came alongside, manned by ten naked Indians, and in the stern was a white man. He brought us two hundred hides and a large lot of beaver and other skins. When he came on deck Mr. Prentice (chief mate) told me the visitor was the celebrated Captain Sutter; that he lived a long way off, up the Sacramento river somewhere, and had ten thousand wild Indians under his command, a strong fort, and employed all the white men who came in his way. The captain was a short stout man, with broad shoulders, large, full face, short stubby mustache, a quiet reserved manner, and a cold blue eye that seemed to look you through and through, and to read your thoughts. * * * He was reported to be a Swiss by birth and formerly an officer of the Great Napoleon's army."* Bartlett says:† "Captain Sutter has the manners of an intelligent and courteous gentlemen, accustomed to move in polished society. He speaks several languages with fluency. He is kind, hospitable, and generous to a fault; as many Americans know who have lived on his bounty. He is a native of Switzerland, fifty-five to sixty years of age, and of fine personal appearance. He was one of the officers of the Swiss guard in the Revolution of July (1830) during the reign of Charles X. After this he emigrated to the United States."‡ Bayard Taylor§ says: "Captain Sutter's appearance and manners quite agree with my preconceived ideas of him. He is still the hale, blue-eyed

**On Land and Sea*. 192

†*Personal Narrative*. 69.

‡*El Dorado*, 158.



jovial German, short and stout of stature, with a broad high forehead, head bald to the crown, and altogether a ruddy, good-humored expression of countenance. He is a man of good intellect, excellent common sense, and amiable qualities of heart. A little more activity and enterprise might have made him the first man in California in point of wealth and influence."

Sutter's public career practically ended with the constitutional convention of which he was a rather ornamental member, having little influence and doing but little work. His title of general comes from his being named in 1856 major general of the Fifth division, state militia.

NOTE 31

JOHN C. FRÉMONT

No history of California would be complete without some account of John C. Frémont, the man who Senator Nesmith of Oregon said had the credit with many people of "finding" everything west of the Rocky mountains.

John Charles Frémont was born in Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; died in New York, July 13, 1890. His wife was Jessie, daughter of Senator Thomas H. Benton. In 1838 he was appointed second lieutenant of topographical engineers and was sent, in 1842, in charge of a party of surveyors to explore the regions of the great west and map out the routes followed by the trappers and emigrants. With a party of twenty-five men he came over the Oregon trail as far as the South pass which he explored, climbed the peak of the Wind River mountains which bears his name, and returned to the Missouri. He made a series of accurate observations of this portion of the overland route and his report was ordered printed by Congress. On the 29th of June 1843, he started with a similar party to complete his survey from South pass westward to connect with that made by Lieutenant Wilkes on the Columbia river. He reached South pass in August, made a brief survey of Great Salt lake and was at Fort Hall on September 19th, Fort Boisé October 8th, and the Dalles November 4th. He made a boat trip to Fort Vancouver and back and on the twenty-fifth of November started up the Fall river (now Des Chutes) to explore Klamath lake; thence southeast to find a lake called Mary's; thence still southeast to explore the San Buenaventura river, "flowing from the Rocky mountains to the bay of San Francisco"; thence to the head waters

of the Arkansas, to Bent's fort, and home. On December 10th he reached Klamath marsh and turning to the east discovered and named Summer, Abert, and Christmas (now Warner) lakes. Continuing southward in search of Mary's lake, or the sink of the Humboldt, he reached and named Pyramid lake on January 10, 1844, and feasted on its supply of salmon trout. On the 16th he followed up Salmon Trout (Truckee) river to its bend, and then continued southward in search of the San Buenaventura. On the 18th of January Frémont determined to attempt the snow covered sierra and cross into California rather than venture the great basin with his worn and foot-sore animals. Seeking a pass he kept on southward, up the eastern branch of Walker river, and then turned northwest to regain the Truckee, but came, instead, to the Carson, being obliged to abandon a brass howitzer he had brought thus far, and which was found years later somewhere between Genoa and Aurora. From the second to the end of February the explorers fought their way through the deep snow and thirty-three out of sixty-seven horses and mules were lost or killed for food. At length they reached the south branch of the American river and six days' journey brought them to Sutter's fort where they arrived the 8th of March. The pass by which they crossed was that known by the immigration of 1849 as the Carson. Sutter supplied the travelers with what they required, taking Frémont's drafts on the topographical bureau at twenty per cent. discount. After a brief rest Frémont started with fresh animals on his return. Passing up the San Joaquin he crossed the Tehachapi pass, Mojave desert, the great basin, and reached Utah lake May 24th, and the Missouri river at the end of July. Frémont was accompanied on both of these explorations by Kit Carson, as guide, and for gallant and highly meritorious service in the two

expeditions was made brevet-captain of topographical engineers, dating from July 31, 1844.

Frémont's third expedition left Bent's fort in August 1845. He had sixty-two men, including six Delaware Indians, and some of the men of the former expedition. This time he made some explorations in Utah and on November 5th was on the head waters of the Humboldt. Sending the main body down the river he started with a small party to the southwest through what are now the counties of Eureka, Nye, and Esmeralda, Nevada, and met the main body at Walker lake November 27th. After arranging a rendezvous in California, Frémont with fifteen men left Walker lake on the 29th, reached Salmon Trout river December 1st, crossed the Sierra Nevada by the Truckee pass on the fifth and sixth, and arrived at Sutter's fort December 10th. Obtaining from Sutter mules, cattle, and other supplies, Frémont started, December 14th, up the San Joaquin valley and on the twenty-second reached Kings river, the River of the Lake, as he called it, the place of meeting. Meanwhile the main body remained at Walker lake to recruit their animals and resumed their march, December 8th, guided by Joseph R. Walker, one of the most skilful and famous of the guides and trappers of the far west. Walker was one of Captain Bonneville's trappers, and in 1833 had been sent by that officer in command of a brigade of forty men to explore the Great Salt Lake, but instead of doing so had carried his party down the Humboldt and over the sierra into California where they had spent the winter in riotous living. Returning in the spring of 1834, Walker had crossed the mountains by the pass that bears his name and regained Bonneville on Bear river, near Salt Lake.* He had discovered on this trip Walker lake, river, and pass, all named for him.

* Washington Irving's *Captain Bonneville*, page 404.

Under Walker's guidance the main body of the expedition took up its march and proceeding southward passed to the west of the White mountains and up Owens river to Owens lake, both named for Richard Owens, a member of their party. Following the line of the present Carson and Colorado railroad, thence passing on the west side of the lake, southward, they went through Walker pass and down the south branch of Kern river, named for another member of their party, E. M. Kern, topographer of the expedition. At the forks of the river, in Kern valley, they encamped December 28th to await their leader, mistaking the stream for that called by Frémont Tulares lake river, or River of the Lake. The two divisions of the expedition were thus encamped about eighty miles apart, each awaiting the arrival of the other. On January 7, 1846, Frémont returned with his party to Sutter's fort where he met Leidesdorff and Captain Hinckley, the three being entertained by Sutter who gave them a grand dinner. From Sutter's Frémont went to Yerba Buena, and thence with Hinckley to visit San José and the new quicksilver mines at Almaden. On January 24th he left Yerba Buena with Leidesdorff, United States sub-consul, for Monterey where they were received by Consul Thomas O. Larkin on the twenty-seventh. On the day of their departure from Yerba Buena Sub-prefect Guerrero notified Prefect Manuel Castro of the fact and the prefect addressed a note to Larkin asking to be informed respecting the purpose for which United States troops had entered the department and their leader had come to Monterey. Frémont explained through the consul that he had come by order of his government to survey a practicable route to the Pacific; that he had left his company of fifty hired men, not soldiers, on the frontier of the department to rest themselves and their animals; that he had come to

Monterey to obtain clothing and funds for the purchase of animals and provisions; and that when his men were recruited, he intended to continue his journey to Oregon. This communication was supplemented by a personal interview with the prefect when the explanation was repeated in the presence of the alcalde of Monterey, of Colonel J. B. Alvarado, and of General José Castro, and was duly forwarded to Governor Pico and to the supreme government. The explanation was apparently satisfactory and no objection was made to Frémont's plan.

Thus ended the famous interview. It does not appear in any of the documents that express permission was given Frémont to winter his men in the San Joaquin valley, but that consent was understood. This is the testimony of those present: Larkin and Castro.* A few days later Frémont left Monterey to look for his men.

The main body of the expedition remained on Kern river waiting for Frémont until January 18th, when they broke camp and started northward, and on February 6th camped on the Calaveras river near the present Stockton. Hearing that Frémont was at San José the command moved into the Santa Clara valley and joined him on February 15th at the Laguna Seco rancho, a little below San José. A week later Frémont started with his entire company, crossed the Santa Clara valley, passed into the Santa Cruz mountains, and descended to the coast southward by the route later followed by the railroad; thence into the Salinas valley and camped on March 3d at the Alisal rancho, about eighteen miles from Monterey.

* *Larkin's official correspondence* MS. ii. 44-5.

Castro—Doc. MS. i. 316. ii. 55.

Doc. Hist. Cal. MS. ii. 86, 89.

The bringing of a body of armed men into their settlements was a piece of effrontery which expressed the contempt in which Frémont held the authorities of California. The insult was calculated to alarm and anger them, and their displeasure was increased by the insolent manner in which the strangers conducted themselves towards the people. While at the Laguna Saco Sebastian Peralta, a ranchero, owner of the Rinconada de los Gatos, visited the camp and pointed out some horses which he claimed had been stolen from his rancho some months before. A very extensive business had been carried on by Indian horse thieves in stealing horses from the ranchos and selling them to dealers who took them out of the country, and Frémont had been warned against buying horses from Indians and other irresponsible persons. He refused to give the horses up to Peralta and ordered him from the camp. Peralta complained to the alcalde of San José who sent Frémont an official communication on February 20th. In reply the captain stated that all of his animals with the exception of four obtained from the Tulares Indians, had been purchased and paid for; and that the one claimed had been brought from the states. "The insult of which he complains," Frémont continued, "and which was authorized by myself, consisted in his being ordered immediately to leave the camp. After having been detected in endeavoring to obtain animals by false pretences, he should have been well satisfied to escape without a severe horse-whipping. * * *

Any further communications on this subject will not, therefore, receive attention. You will readily understand that my duties will not permit me to appear before the magistrates of your towns on the complaint of every straggling vagabond who may chance to visit my camp. You inform me that unless satisfaction be immediately made by the delivery of the animals in question, the

complaint will be forwarded to the governor. I would beg you at the same time to enclose to his Excellency a copy of this note." The alcalde forwarded the correspondence to the governor with the statement that Peralta was an honest man.

While at the Alisal three of Frémont's men visited the rancho of Don Angel María Castro, an uncle of General Castro, and offered insult to one of his daughters. The father, an old man, who had in his younger days served the king, defended his daughter from outrage when one of the trappers drew a pistol and presented it at his breast. The old man, whose strength had not yet failed him, seized his assailant by the throat, wrested the pistol from his hand and rolled him over the floor. At this the men withdrew, threatening to return.*

On the 5th of March an officer arrived in Frémont's camp with the following order from General Castro: "This morning at seven information reached this office that you and your party have entered the settlements of this department; and this being prohibited by our laws, I find myself obliged to notify you that on receipt of this you must immediately retire beyond the limits of the department, such being the orders of the supreme government, which the undersigned is under the obligation of enforcing." At the same time the prefect sent Frémont similar orders,† saying that if he did not obey, the

* Osio: *Hist. Cal. MS.* p. 458. Bancroft Collection.

† "I have learned with surprise that you, against the laws and authorities of the Mexican republic, have entered the pueblos of the district under my charge, with an armed force, on a commission which the government of your nation must have given you to survey solely its own territory." etc. Manuel Castro to Frémont. *Niles Register*, Nov. 21, 1846.

prefect would take measures to make him respect his determination. Both orders were communicated at once to Larkin and by him to the government of the United States.

To these orders Frémont sent back no written reply but merely a verbal refusal to obey. He then moved his camp to the summit of Gavilan peak, erected fortifications and over them raised the flag of the United States. On March 6th Castro reported to the minister of war that Frémont had presented himself at headquarters some days previous with request for permission to procure provisions for his men whom he had left in the mountains. This permission had been given him. "But two days ago I was much surprised at being informed that he was only two days' journey from this place. Consequently I at once sent him a communication, ordering him, on the instant of its receipt, to put himself on the march and leave the department. But I have received no answer, and in order to make him obey in case of resistance, I sent a force to observe his operations, and to-day I march in person to join it and to see that the object is attained."

Larkin, alarmed at the direction affairs had taken, sent a communication to the prefect and also to the general urging caution in proceeding against Frémont on account of causes arising, possibly, from false reports or false appearances, and recommending that any party, going to the camp of Captain Frémont be commanded by a trustworthy and experienced officer, lest affairs be brought to some unhappy conclusion. The prefect, in reply, stated that the orders to Frémont had not been founded on false reports or appearances, but on the laws and oft-repeated instructions from Mexico, and he complained that the consul, instead of ordering Frémont to depart, had to a certain extent defended his

entry. He urged him to impress on the captain the necessity of submitting at once if he would avert the consequence of his illegal entry. Larkin enclosed this letter to Frémont with one of his own in which he warned that officer that Castro would soon have at least two hundred men in arms against him. Larkin did not know what instructions Frémont had received from the government, but could not comprehend his movements. "It is not for me to point out to you your line of conduct," he wrote, "you have your instructions from the government, and my knowledge of your character obliges me to believe you will follow them; you are of course taking every care and safeguard to protect your men, but not knowing your actual situation and the people who surround you, your care may prove insufficient. * * * Your encamping so near town has caused much excitement. The natives are firm in the belief that they will break you up and that you can be entirely destroyed by their power. In all probability they will attack you; the result either way may cause trouble hereafter to resident Americans. I myself have no fears on the subject, yet believe the present state of affairs may cause an interruption to business. Should it be impossible or inconvenient for you to leave California at present, I think in a proper representation to the general and prefecto, an arrangement could be made for your camp to be continued, but at some greater distance; which arrangement I would advise if you can offer it. I never make to this government an unreasonable request, therefore never expect a denial, and have for many years found them well disposed to me." This letter was forwarded on the ninth, one copy being entrusted to an American and another to a Californian. On the same day Larkin wrote to John Parrott, United States consul at Mazatlan, enclosing copies of the correspondence and requesting

that a man-of-war be sent to California without delay. This brought the Portsmouth which arrived April 22d.

The American courier sent by Larkin to Frémont was captured and the dispatches fell into the hands of Castro. The Californian, provided with a pass by Alcalde Diaz of Monterey, reached the camp and returned at eight o'clock p. m. with Frémont's reply which bore no date and was written in pencil. "I this moment received your letters," wrote the captain, "and without waiting to read them acknowledge the receipt, which the courier requires instantly. I am making myself as strong as possible, in the intention that if we are unjustly attacked we will fight to extremity and refuse quarter, trusting to our country to avenge our death. No one has reached my camp and from the heights we are able to see troops—with the glass—mustering at St. John's and preparing cannon. I thank you for your kindness and good wishes, and would write more at length as to my intentions did I not fear that my letter would be intercepted. We have in no wise done wrong to the people or the authorities of the country, and if we are hemmed in and assaulted we will die, every man of us under the flag of our country. P. S. I am encamped on the top of the sierra, at the head waters of a stream which strikes the road at the house of Don Joaquin Gomez."

In a letter to the president of the United States dated November 9, 1846, enclosing Frémont's letters, Thomas H. Benton says: "To my mind this entrenching on the mountain, and raising the national flag, was entirely justifiable under the circumstances, and the noble resolution which they took to die if attacked, under the flag of their country, four thousand miles distant from their homes, was an act of the highest heroism, worthy to

be recorded by Xenophon and reflecting equal honor upon the brave young officer who commanded and the heroic sixty-two by whom he was supported.”*

Notwithstanding his declaration to fight to extremity Frémont abandoned his camp that same night and moved off eastward, giving his men to understand that the United States consul so ordered it.† The California army was disbanded and returned to their homes on the thirteenth by an order in which the general announced to them that the highwaymen who had abused their hospitality and raised the United States flag on California soil had, at the sight of two hundred patriots arming for the defence of their country, abandoned their camp and fled, leaving behind some clothing and war material. Frémont had abandoned some worn out clothing and articles not worth removing.

So ended the famous affair of Gavilan Peak celebrated in the annals of San Benito and Monterey, and in honor of which an unsuccessful attempt has been made to change the name of the sierra from Picacho del Gavilan to Frémont Peak.

Frémont's statement before the court-martial concerning this incident is disingenuous and misleading, if not made with deliberate intent to deceive. He says:

“I explained to General Castro the object of my coming into California and my desire to obtain permission to winter in the valley of the San Joaquin for refreshment and repose, where there was plenty of game for the men and grass for the horses, and no inhabitants to be molested by our presence. Leave was granted, and also leave to continue my explorations south to the region of the Rio Colorado and of the Rio Gila.

“In the last days of February I commenced the march south, crossing into the valley of the Salinas or Buenaventura

* *Niles Nat. Reg.* lxxi, 173-4.

† Martin, *Narrative*, 12. The writer was one of Frémont's men and was with him on Gavilan.

and soon received a notification to depart, with information that General Castro was assembling troops with a view to attack us, under the pretext that I had come to California to excite the American settlers to revolt.

"The information of this design was authentic, and with a view to be in a condition to repel a superior force, provided with cannon, I took a position on the Sierra, called Hawk's peak, entrenched, raised the flag of the United States and awaited the approach of the assailant."*

There is nothing in this statement to explain to the court how the captain could march his men from the place of rest and refreshment into the Salinas valley on his way south to the Rios Colorado and Gila. In the absence of any clear idea of the geography of California, it was not to be expected of the members of the court to know that the place where Frémont was permitted to winter his men was more than two hundred and fifty miles southeast of the point where he "commenced the march south by crossing into the valley of the Salinas."

The only understanding the court could have, in the absence of explanations and a map of the country, is that after giving Frémont permission to winter in the valley Castro treacherously prepared to attack him. That it was so understood by the people generally is shown by the usually accepted statements regarding Castro's treachery.†

The absurdity of the contention appears to have occurred to General Frémont in his later years, for in an article in the *Century* in 1891, he says: "My purpose (in visiting Monterey) was to get *leave to bring my party into the settlements* in order to outfit and to obtain the

* 30th Cong. 1st. Sess. Senate Ex. Doc. 33. p. 372.

† See map facing page 102; the camp of Frémont's men on Kern river is indicated.

supplies that had now become necessary. * * * The permission asked for was readily granted."*

The permission to extend his survey to the Colorado and Gila rivers does not seem to have attracted the attention of Larkin, who was present at the interview, for he wrote on March 4th, of Frémont, "He is now in this vicinity surveying. * * * He then proceeds for the Oregon, returns here in May, and expects to be in Washington about September." Nor was Pico better informed for he directs that a close watch be kept on Frémont with a view to learn if he had any other design than that of preparing for a trip to Oregon.

Crossing into San Joaquin valley by the Pacheco pass, Frémont proceeded to the Sacramento and on March 21st was at Sutter's fort, and on the 30th at Peter Lassen's rancho on Deer creek. While here he was called on by the settlers for aid against the Indians who, they claimed, were gathering to attack them. According to Martin, Frémont said he would discharge his men and they could do as they pleased. The result was a raid in which a large number of Indians were killed.† While at this camp Frémont sent out men to buy horses from the Indians. These animals he knew had been stolen from the ranchos, for he was warned of that fact by Sutter. Martin says that they bought one hundred and eighty-seven horses from the Indians of the Tulares, giving a knife and a string of beads for each horse. On April 14th Frémont left Lassen's and proceeded northward

* *Century Mag.* xix. 921. The difference between this and the previous statements will be noted. The italics are mine.

† Martin, *Narrative*, 14. The writer says that 175 Indians were killed. Lancey says that the Indians were "defeated" with considerable loss. *Cruise of the Dale*. 44. There is not the slightest evidence of hostile intent on the part of the Indians. They were probably having one of their annual pow-wows or dances.

to Oregon. Martin says: "We followed up the Sacramento killing plenty of game and an occasional Indian. Of the latter we made it a rule to spare none of the bucks."* On the 8th of May Frémont had reached the northern end of Klamath lake where his further progress was barred by lofty snow covered mountains and hostile Indians, and he determined to retrace his steps and return east by way of the Colorado river. Late on the evening of that day two horsemen rode into camp with the information that a United States officer was approaching—two days behind—with dispatches; that he had but a small escort and was in danger. The following morning Frémont with nine of his men started back and after a ride of twenty-five miles met Archibald H. Gillespie at nightfall. Gillespie, a lieutenant of marines, United States navy, had been sent in October 1845, by James Buchanan, secretary of state, as bearer of a duplicate of secret instructions to Larkin, with whom he was to co-operate, and he was ordered to communicate the contents of the dispatch to Frémont. Gillespie committed his dispatch to memory before reaching Vera Cruz and destroyed the written duplicate. Then crossing Mexico he reached Monterey in April 1846. He re-wrote the dispatch for Larkin and then proceeded to the Sacramento to find Frémont, to whom he also carried a letter of introduction from Buchanan and a package of letters from Benton. He presented his letter of introduction to Frémont, repeated to him the contents of the secret dispatch and delivered the package of family letters. No watch was kept in camp that night and about midnight there was an attack by Klamath Indians and three of Frémont's men were killed. The Indians were repulsed with the loss of a chief and in the morning the party

* *Narrative* page 15.

started north to join the main body. On the return march the party wrecked terrible vengeance on the Indians, and on May 24th reached Lassen's. A few days later they encamped at the Marysville Buttes, fifty miles below.*

In the famous secret dispatch to Consul Larkin that official was informed that the future destiny of California was of anxious solicitude for the government and people of the United States; that the interests of our commerce and fisheries on the Pacific Ocean demanded of the consul that he should exercise the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempts which might be made by foreign governments to acquire control over that country. "In the contest between Mexico and California," wrote the secretary, "we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the

* Benton says: "He found his further progress completely barred by the double obstacle of hostile Indians, which Castro had excited against him, and the lofty mountains covered with deep and fallen snows. * * * Behind and on the north bank of the San Francisco bay, at the military post of Sonoma, was General Castro assembling troops with the avowed intention of attacking both Frémont's party and all the American settlers. Thus, his passage barred in front by impassable snows and mountains, hemmed in by savage Indians who were thinning the ranks of his little party, menaced by a general at the head of tenfold forces of all arms, the American settlers marked out for destruction, his men and horses suffering from fatigue, cold, and famine, *** Captain Frémont determined to turn on his pursuers and fight them instantly, without regard to numbers, and seek safety for his party and the American settlers by overturning the Mexican government in California." (Benton to president. *Niles Register*. lxxi. 173-4). So is history made. Upper Klamath, where Frémont was, is over four hundred miles by the most direct route from Sonoma where General Castro at the head of "tenfold forces of all arms" was supposed to be menacing Frémont's rear. The hostility of the Klamaths was due to the treatment they had received from trappers and immigrants. The Spaniards had never been in that country, or near it.

kind offices in our power as a sister republic. This government has no ambitious aspirations to gratify and no desire to extend our Federal system over more territory than we already possess, unless by the free and spontaneous wish of the independent people of adjoining territories. The exercise of compulsion or improper influence would be repugnant both to the policy and principles of this government. But whilst these are the sentiments of the president, he could not view with indifference the transfer of California to Great Britain or any other European power. The system of colonization by foreign monarchies on the North American continent must and will be resented by the United States." The secretary enlarges on the evils of European colonization and acquisition, and states that his remarks are inspired by the act of Rac, agent for the Hudson's Bay company, in furnishing the Californians with arms and money to enable them to expel the Mexicans from the country during the previous fall, and that now the Mexican troops are about to invade the province, instigated thereto by the British government. "On all proper occasions," he says, "you should not fail to warn the government and people of California of the danger of such interference to their peace and prosperity—to inspire them with a jealousy of European dominion and to arouse in their bosoms that love of liberty and independence so natural to the American Continent. * * *

"Whilst the president will make no effort and use no influence to induce California to become one of the free and independent states of this union, yet if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done without affording Mexico just cause of complaint. Their true policy, for the present, in regard to this question, is to let events take their course, unless an attempt should be

made to transfer them, without their consent, either to Great Britain or France. This they ought to resist by all the means in their power as ruinous to their best interests and destructive of their freedom and independence."

He assures Mr. Larkin that our countrymen in California have the cordial sympathy and friendship of the president and that their conduct is appreciated by him as it deserves.

Mr. Larkin is informed that he is appointed a confidential agent in California, in addition to his consular functions, but he must take care not to awaken the jealousy of the French and English agents there by assuming any other than a consular character. The state department would like to be informed of the progress of events and the disposition of the authorities and people towards the United States and other governments; also the aggregate population with the proportion of Mexican, American, British, and French citizens, the feelings of each class towards the United States, the names and character of the principal persons in the government and other distinguished and influential citizens, and other matters pertaining to trade, finance, and resources. Larkin's compensation was fixed at the rate of six dollars a day and necessary expenses. The letter was dated October 17, 1845, and received by Larkin April 17, 1846.

From the fact that Lieutenant Gillespie was instructed to show Frémont the secret dispatch, we must infer that the orders to Larkin were also the orders to Frémont. So particular were Gillespie's instructions regarding Frémont that two days after reaching Monterey he started to find the captain to communicate to him the wishes of the government of the United States; and this he did at no small risk to himself. He pretended to be an invalid merchant traveling for his health, but was suspected of being a secret agent of the United States government and wa

liable to be arrested as a spy. Sutter notified Castro of the arrival of Gillespie at New Helvetia and said that in spite of his pretence of being an invalid in search of health, with family letters for Frémont, he believed he was a United States officer with dispatches.

The government of the United States instructed its consular agent in California to whom Mexico had in good faith issued its exequatur, to intrigue with the officers and people of that province to persuade them to separate the department from Mexico and declare her independence, under the assurance that we would "render her all the kind offices in our power." We may have our opinion concerning the morality of this dispatch and may disapprove the secret instructions to Larkin, but they were the orders of the government to its agents and it is clear that the orders to Larkin were also orders to Frémont.

Let us see then how the young captain of engineers obeyed his orders. First however we will consider the orders in their relation to the Californians and see how far they are in harmony with orders issued to the naval and military commanders. On June 24, 1845, Bancroft, secretary of the navy, wrote to Commodore Sloat on the Pacific station as follows: "If you ascertain with certainty that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit. * * * You will be careful to preserve if possible the most friendly relations with the inhabitants, and * * * will encourage them to adopt a course of neutrality." To General Kearny, the secretary of war wrote June 3, 1846: "In your whole conduct you will act in such a manner as best to conciliate the inhabitants and render them friendly to the United States." In the secret dispatch Larkin (and Frémont)

are instructed to assure the Californians that the government of the United States stands ready to render them all the kind offices in its power, and that "if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren." We see therefore, that in addition to instructions relative to the machinations of foreign powers, the United States agents, civil and military, were instructed to cultivate friendly relations with the Californians and prepare them for a peaceful change of flag, if, indeed, California could not be induced to apply for admission as "one of the free and independent states of this union."*

On the 30th of May Frémont was again encamped at the Buttes where, as he says in his *Memoirs*, his camp became the rendezvous for the settlers and whence he sent out agents to stir up the restless and the roving among them and incite them to violence by stories of what the blood-thirsty Spaniards were going to do to them. William B. Ide, who arrived in California in October 1845, and was living on Belden's rancho, Barranca Colorado (Red Bluff), says that a letter, without signature, was delivered to him by an Indian in which was stated that two hundred and fifty Spaniards were coming up the valley, destroying crops, burning houses, and driving off cattle. "Captain Frémont invites every freeman in the valley to come into his camp at the Buttes immediately and he hopes to stay the enemy and put a stop to his operations." Ide received this letter June 8th and hastened to the camp. To him Frémont unfolded his plan, which was: to select a dozen men who had nothing to lose and everything to gain and encourage them to commit depredations upon the Californians,

* 29th Cong. 2d. Ses. House. Ex. Doc. 19.

31st Cong. 1st Ses. House Ex. Doc. 17.

Buchanan's Instructions MS. Bancroft Coll.

run off their stock and take their horses; then make prisoners of some of their principal men and provoke Castro to strike the first blow and bring on hostilities, when the United States government would have to interfere. Meanwhile, the men who committed the outrages would be provided with fleet horses and make their escape into the territory of the United States. Ide says that he would not consent to commit depredations against Castro and then run away and was quite indignant against Frémont for making such a suggestion.* Frémont argued with him and showed how badly the foreigners had been treated by the Californians and said they should retaliate. At the moment this conference was taking place, a party sent out by Frémont was actually engaged in a raid upon the Californians. Lieutenant Arce with a party of eight men was conducting a band of one hundred and seventy horses from Sonoma to Santa Clara, for the use of the government; information of this had been brought to Frémont's camp, and a party of twelve or fourteen men under Ezekiel Merritt was sent to cut them off. Merritt, Frémont says in his *Memoirs*, was his field lieutenant among the settlers.† John Bidwell says the party was made up of roving hunters and trappers. Merritt and his men came upon Arce at Martin Murphy's rancho on the Cosumnes, and captured the Californians, no resistance being made. The prisoners were released and sent back to Castro with the message that if he

* Ide: *Biographical Sketch*, 107-119.

† John Bidwell says of Merritt: "He could neither read nor write. He was an old mountaineer and trapper; lived with an Indian squaw and went clad in buckskin. * * * He chewed tobacco to a disgusting excess and stammered badly. He boasted of his prowess in killing Indians and the handle of the tomahawk he carried had nearly a hundred notches to record the number of his Indian scalps. He drank deeply whenever he could get liquor. *Cent. Mag.* xix. 523.

wanted his horses he could come and take them, and that they proposed to take Sonoma and continue the war. The horses were driven to Frémont's camp which had been removed to Bear river, and which the marauders reached June 11th. Merritt's force was increased to twenty men and they left Frémont's camp on the afternoon of the same day and crossed the hills into Napa Valley that night. They remained in Napa valley two days during which time their number was increased to thirty-two or thirty-three men. At dawn of June 14th they presented themselves at the house of General Vallejo at Sonoma, calling upon him to surrender. Hastily dressing himself Vallejo opened the door and inquired the object of this uncereemonious visit. He was informed he was a prisoner and must surrender the frontier post and government property in his hands. Vallejo courteously invited them to enter and draw up articles of capitulation. Merritt and Semple entered, with William Knight as interpreter, and when Vallejo inquired by whose authority this was done, he was informed that they were acting under Frémont's orders. Relieved to find a United States officer in command of the war Vallejo set refreshments before the men while the terms of surrender were being discussed. Lieutenant-colonel Prudon and Captain Salvador Vallejo came over to the general's house and were arrested, and Jacob P. Leese was brought in to act as interpreter. The men outside, weary of waiting, elected John Grigsby captain and sent him in to see what was doing. Grigsby took a hand in the negotiations—and the drink, and after waiting a long time the men sent in Ide to investigate the cause of delay. Under the influence of the general's hospitality very favorable articles were drawn up and signed, guaranteeing the lives, property, and religion of the prisoners and others of that jurisdiction, so long as they made no opposition. Ide took the document

out and read it to the men who, it appears, had also succeeded in getting something to drink. Some of the men were inclined to be insubordinate and it was decided by them to send the Californians prisoners to Sutters' fort, instead of taking their parole and releasing them.

Among the gallant band who thus disturbed the serenity of the peaceful little town was Doctor Robert Semple, a native of Kentucky, printer and dentist by trade, who reached California with a belated party on December 25, 1845, and had therefore been in the territory not quite six months. Dr. Semple, an honest, kindly man, ambitious to do great things, a ready speaker, with perfect confidence in himself and without the slightest sense of humor, has left for us in winged words the lofty story of the Sonoma revolution; for he became the historian of the Bear Flag war. "The world has not hitherto manifested so high a degree of civilization," he says, "for the party did no wrong, its watchword being 'equal rights and equal laws.' One single man, who in the innocence of his heart made a natural interpretation of the watchword, cried out, 'Let us make a fair and equal division of the spoils,' but one universal, dark, and indignant frown made him sink from the presence of honest men, and from that time forward no man dared to hint anything like violating the sanctity of a private house, or touching private property." Supplies for the troops were "borrowed" on the faith and credit of the Bear Flag government, but there is no doubt that the efforts of Semple, Grigsby, and a few others, prevented indiscriminate plunder. "Their children, in generations yet to come will look back with pleasure upon the commencement of a revolution carried on by their fathers upon principles high and holy as the laws of eternal

justice.”* Returning to his home from two month's imprisonment, General Vallejo found the filibusters and their successors had taken from his rancho all his live stock, all his crops, and many other things of value. He had lost one thousand head of cattle and over six hundred tame horses. The “dark, indignant frown” was evidently out of working order.

Before the prisoners set out for Sacramento, a meeting was held by the revolutionists to decide upon a plan of operation. The question asked by Vallejo: by whose authority had he been arrested, had caused some inquiry among the men. It was understood that the movement was by Frémont's order, but the fact was no one could produce the order. Confusion reigned. Grigsby, who had been elected captain, vice Merritt, deposed, exclaimed: “Gentlemen, I have been deceived; I cannot go with you; I resign and back out of the scrape.” One said he would not stay to guard the prisoners; another swore that they would all have their throats cut; another called for fresh horses; all were on the move, each man for himself. The crisis had come, and with it the man. With that quick insight which is an attribute of genius, William B. Ide realized the peril of the moment. In trumpet tones he called to the receding men: “We need no horses; saddle no horse for me; I can go to the Spaniards and make freemen of them. I will lay my bones here before I will take upon myself the ignominy of commencing an honorable work and then flee like cowards, like thieves, when no enemy is in sight. In vain will you say you had honorable motives. Who will believe it? Flee this day, and the longest life cannot wear out your disgrace! Choose ye this day what you

* Bryant: *What I Saw in California*, 290. Dr. Semple with Walter Cotton started the *Californian*, the first paper published in California. He was also president of the constitutional convention.

will be," he cried with impassioned eloquence. "We are robbers, or we must be conquerors." The day was won. With renewed hope the men gathered about him and made him commander-in-chief.*

A guard of ten or twelve men took the prisoners to Sacramento, the order being given to the guard to "shoot the damned greasers if they attempt to escape," an order in shocking contrast to the lofty spirit and aim of these patriots of six months' residence. Arriving at the American river whither Frémont had removed his camp the captives were brought to him, but he declined to receive them saying that he was not responsible for what had been done. They were, therefore, taken to Sutter's fort and locked in a room containing no furniture except some rude benches, without blankets, and with neither food nor water until eleven o'clock the next day, when an Indian was sent in with a pot of soup and meat which they might eat as best they could without spoons or dishes. Frémont also ordered the arrest of Leese as a "bad man," which made Leese very angry, and he was locked up with the rest.

Considering Vallejo's rank, his character, and his known friendly attitude towards the United States, his arrest and confinement in prison was a great outrage. He had, time and again, shown favor to American immigrants notwithstanding the strict orders of the supreme government, and probably some of these very men who had captured him had received his help during the proceeding winter.† To be treated like a convict, kept in close confinement, allowed no communication with friends or family, and insulted by coarse, vulgar fellows,

* Ide: *Biographical Sketch*.

† The Grigsby-Ide party, members of which formed one half of the Bear Flag party, arrived in California on October 25, 1845, and most of them wintered in Sacramento and Sonoma.

was very hard for the general and his health broke under it. Sutter endeavored to show the prisoners some kindness until warned that he would be himself arrested.*

Thus did the young officer set about the execution of his orders. It would seem to be a peculiar way to cultivate "the most friendly relations" with the people of California and to "make them feel that we come as deliverers," by stealing their horses, insulting their magistrates, and imprisoning their chief citizens. We have seen that, instead of obeying the instructions he received through Gillespie, from the moment he pitched his camp at the Buttes after his return from the Oregon border, he began to stir up the "settlers." He tells us so himself.† Rumors of an impending attack from Castro, of rising of Indians, and the proposed burning of the wheat fields of the settlers were spread through the valley.

Let us see what authority there was for these rumors. John Bidwell, a man of standing then and since, who was at the time Captain Sutter's business man at the fort, says: "There were not at that time over twenty-one persons who had located ranchos and were living on them or had others occupying the same for them. There were, however, a good many without homes or any intentions of making homes, staying, some at the places occupied by others and some, and by far the greater part, camped about the Sacramento valley hunting. This floating population would probably number three times as many as those permanently settled.

"The Americans in the Sacramento valley had no fear whatever about Castro coming to attack them; on the contrary they were able, as they knew, to cope with any force he could bring against them.

* Leese says in his *Bear Flag Revolt*, p. 16, that Frémont threatened to hang Sutter.

† *Memoirs*, p. 509.

"This floating population had all to gain and nothing to lose. They wanted a war. I doubt whether any permanent settlers went to Frémont's camp. Frémont sent men—not of his own expedition—to capture the horses (of Arce). Captain Sutter denounced the act as an outrage. * * * The reason given for the (Bear Flag) movement was news to me, and I think to most others."*

He says, that there were no permanent settlers in the party; that the war was not begun in defense of American settlers, that Frémont began the war; that to him belongs all the credit; and upon him rests all the responsibility.†

While at the Buttes, on May 30th, Frémont sent Lieutenant Gillespie to Captain Montgomery, commanding the Portsmouth, for supplies to enable him to proceed homeward, which he announced to be his immediate intention, by way of the Rio Colorado. Gillespie reached Yerba Buena June 7th and Montgomery immediately honored the requisition. Gillespie made no mention of Frémont's filibustering operations and a friend, whom he met in Yerba Buena, put in his hand a letter written to some person in the east to be taken "by the gallant Captain Frémont who is now encamped in the Sacramento and about to proceed directly to the United States." Frémont also wrote to Larkin June 1st enclosing a letter to Benton, and to both he announced his intention of starting at once for the States. The Portsmouth's launch was loaded with the supplies to enable the surveying party to return home and reached Sutter's fort June 12th. By the returning boat Frémont wrote Montgomery (in part) as follows:

"New Helvetia, June 16, 1846.

* * * "This evening I was interrupted in a note to yourself

* *California in 1841-8 MS.* 159-168. Ban. Coll. There is plenty of other testimony to the same effect.

† John Bidwell to Rev. Dr. Willey: Digest in Royce's *California*, 99-102.

by the arrival of General Vallejo and other officers who had been taken prisoners and insisted upon surrendering to me. The people and authorities of the country persist in connecting with me every movement of the foreigners and I am hourly in expectation of the approach of General Castro.

* * * "The nature of my instructions and the peaceful nature of my operations do not contemplate any active hostility on my part, even in the event of war between the two countries; and therefore, although I am resolved to take such active and precautionary measures as I shall judge necessary, I am not authorized to ask from you any other than such assistance as, without incurring yourself unusual responsibility, you would feel at liberty to afford me."*

In a letter to Benton dated July 25, 1846, Frémont details the events following the meeting with Gillespie at Klamath lake and says that on June 6th he decided on the course he would pursue, "and immediately concerted my operations with the foreigners inhabiting the Sacramento valley." He gives Benton an account of the capture of Arce's horses, the surprise and capture on June 15th, of the military fort of Sonoma, with nine brass pieces of artillery; two hundred and fifty stands of muskets; other arms and a quantity of ammunition; also General Vallejo and other prisoners, who were placed at New Helvetia, "a fortified post under my command." Having accomplished this he proceeded to the American settlements on the Sacramento and the Rio de los Americanos to obtain reinforcements of men and rifles. He says that the information carried by Gillespie to Captain Montgomery of the Portsmouth concerning his position caused Montgomery to dispatch his launch to Frémont with aid. "I immediately wrote to him," says Frémont, "by return of the boat, describing to him fully my position and intentions, in order that he might not, by supposing me to be acting under orders from our government, unwittingly commit himself to affording me other than

* *Century Magazine*. xix. 780.

such assistance as his instructions would authorize him naturally to offer an officer charged with an important public duty."*

We have seen this letter and have read how fully Frémont described to the naval officer his position and intentions.

Meanwhile Castro had written Captain Montgomery, under date of June 17th, demanding an explanation of Frémont's conduct. To this letter Montgomery replied on the eighteenth, in a tone of absolute sincerity, that Captain Frémont's mission was solely scientific in its aims and that it was in no manner whatever, either by the authority of the United States or otherwise, connected with the political movements of the residents of the country at Sonoma.

Captain Montgomery's awakening came later. In his diary† he writes on June 28th of the second visit of Lieutenant Gillespie who gave him the news that Frémont had openly joined the Bears and was at that moment in pursuit of Joaquin de la Torre in the San Rafael region. It appears that after the re-organization of the Bears and the election of Ide as commander-in-chief, that officer had sent an emissary to the naval commander, that to inform him of the breaking out of the war, and incidentally, to obtain a supply of powder. Captain Montgomery informed the agent of the Bear Flag republic that his position as a naval officer in a foreign port prevented his taking any part in internal disorders, and he would therefore have to refuse the request for powder. "The course of Captain Frémont," says Montgomery in

* *Niles National Register*, Nov. 21, 1846, 191. This letter, emphasized by Benton in most vigorous language, was sent to the president and by him repeated in public documents thus becoming the authorized version of historic events preceeding the conquest.

† *Century Magazine*. xix. 780.

his diary, "renders my position as a neutral particularly delicate and difficult. Having avowed not only my own but Captain Frémont's entire neutrality and non-interference in the existing difficulties in the country, it can scarcely be supposed, under the circumstances, that I shall be regarded as having spoken in good faith and sincerity."

After comparing Frémont's letter to Montgomery with that to Benton, what respect is it possible to retain for the veracity of the young hero? Not only in his letter to Benton does he assume the entire direction of the Bear Flag rising, but in his *Memoirs* he again states that everything was done by his orders.

After the election of Ide as commander-in-chief ("governor," he claimed) of the California republic, a flag was constructed of a piece of unbleached cotton cloth to the bottom of which was sewn a strip of red flannel. In the upper left hand corner of the white field was drawn a five pointed star, outlined in ink and filled in with red paint. To the right of the star and facing it was drawn in like manner what was intended for a grizzly bear, statant. Under the emblems was the legend, California Republic, in black ink. Next, it occurred to the commander-in-chief, a proclamation would be in order, that the world might know their true character and the circumstances which had compelled them to assume such an unusual position. Ide therefore shut himself up and by morning had his proclamation ready to read to his companions. In it the commander-in-chief assures all persons in California, not found under arms, protection to life, property, and religion. He declares that his purpose is to defend himself and his brave companions who had been invited to the country by promise of lands, by promise of a republican government, and who, having arrived in California, were denied even the privilege of buying

or renting lands, and instead of being allowed to participate in or being protected by a republican government, were oppressed by a military despotism and were even threatened by proclamation with extermination if they would not depart out of the country, leaving their property, their arms, and their beasts of burden; and thus deprived of the means of flight or defence, they were to be driven through deserts inhabited by hostile savages to certain death. He declares their purpose to overthrow the government which has despoiled the missions and shamefully oppressed the people of California—and much more. The proclamation with its false and absurd statements having been read to the assembled “troops,” Ide sent a messenger to notify Montgomery of the change in the government and then set about reorganizing the army, arranging for the payment of the public debt, the establishment of a land office, a survey of the public domain, and regulations concerning the tariff. The charge so frequently made by the American immigrants that they were invited to California by a promise of lands on which to settle is ridiculous. Their very entrance into California was in violation of law and so disturbed had the supreme government at Mexico become over the American immigration, that strict orders had been sent to the governor and comandante-general to prevent their coming into the department. But as the arrival of the overland immigrants was usually late in the fall neither Castro nor Vallejo could do such violence to their sentiments of hospitality and humanity as to force the immigrants, in their weakened condition with their wives and little children, to re-cross the sierra in winter to almost certain death. The officials contented themselves with taking bonds for good behavior and promises to depart in the spring, should citizenship and license to remain be denied. These bonds were

signed by those who had come earlier and had become Mexican citizens and owners of ranchos. George Yount of Napa valley was very good to the immigrants and would sign bonds for them by the score. A number of the immigrants, chiefly hunters and trappers, did not come into the settlements, gave no bonds, and made no promises. The charge that the government had despoiled the missions was not true, but even if it had been so, it was no affair of the immigrants.

In the reorganization of the army Henry L. Ford was made first lieutenant; Granville P. Swift and Samuel Gibson, sergeants; the first two were immigrants of 1844, while Gibson came in 1845.

On the 19th of June two men, named Cowie and Fowler, who had been sent by Lieutenant Ford to a rancho on the Russian river to obtain powder, were captured by a small, roving band of Californians under Juan Padilla, and put to death. The killing was done after the men had surrendered and by a well known desperado in the band named Garcia, called by Americans "Four-Fingered Jack." The testimony concerning the murder is conflicting, but it is said that the men were tortured. Two other men were captured by this same band: W. L. Todd, and an Englishman. When the men sent by Ford did not return, he sent on the twentieth Sergeant Gibson with four men to the rancho. They obtained the powder but heard nothing of the two men. On the return Gibson was attacked by a small party of Californians which he beat off, wounding one and capturing one who was taken a prisoner to Sonoma. From the captive was learned the fact of the murder and of the two prisoners remaining in the hands of the Californians. On the twenty-third Ide sent Lieutenant Ford with seventeen or eighteen men to rescue the prisoners; and under guidance of Gibson's captive they came upon the Cali-

fornians at the Olompali rancho, on San Antonio creek a little below Petaluma, on the morning of the twenty-fourth. Padilla's band had, without Ford's knowledge, been joined by a larger force under Joaquin de la Torre. On learning of the outrage at Sonoma, Castro issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to rise and protect the country from invasion, and had, with some difficulty, increased his army to about one hundred and sixty men. Dividing his force into three divisions he sent one under Joaquin de la Torre against the Bears at Sonoma. With fifty or sixty men De la Torre crossed from San Pablo to San Quintin on the evening of June 23d and proceeded to San Rafael. Leaving a few men at the mission he started northward and effecting a junction with Padilla encamped, early on the morning of the twenty-fourth, at Olompali. The Californians were at breakfast when the Americans came upon them. Seeing a larger force than he expected to meet Ford ordered his men to dismount and take cover behind the trees. The Californians charged and were received by a discharge of Bears' rifles and retired with the loss of one man killed and several wounded. The Bears released the prisoners, secured some horses from the corral, and returned to Sonoma. This was the first battle of the war.

Up to this time Frémont had taken no active part in affairs. Asked to head the uprising he had replied that he was a United States officer and could not take part in an insurrection. He may have waited to see if some real settlers joined the movement—men who had a stake in the country. He sent emissaries to Doctor Marsh and other land owners, and later Bidwell, Baldrige, Reading, and others came in, some of whom did approve the filibustering plan, but joined, believing Frémont was acting under secret orders from his

ment; a belief that was general among both Californians and foreigners. At last Frémont decided to come out into the open, or, as he says: "I decided that it was for me to govern events rather than to be governed by them. I represented the Army and the Flag of the United States."* Breaking camp on the American river June 23d, he appeared at Sonoma on the twenty-fifth with his entire force accompanied by some thirty settlers under Samuel J. Hensley, an immigrant of 1843. Frémont at once assumed command of the Bears, the combined force amounting now to about one hundred and sixty-five men. Leaving a garrison to hold Sonoma, Frémont at the head of one hundred and thirty men marched to San Rafael where he expected to find De la Torre. Now occurred a most lamentable incident; and affair that must leave an indelible stain upon the name of Frémont—the murder of Berreyesa and the De Haros. I will let Jasper O'Farrell tell the story. In a statement published in the *Los Angeles Star* September 27, 1856, O'Farrell says: "I was at San Rafael in June 1846 when the then Captain Frémont arrived at the mission with his troops. The second day after his arrival there was a boat landed three men at the mouth of the estero on Point San Pedro. As soon as they were discovered by Frémont there were three men (of whom Kit Carson was one) detailed to meet them. They mounted their horses and after advancing about one hundred yards halted and Carson returned to where Frémont was standing on the corridor of the mission in company with Gillespie, myself and others, and said 'Captain, shall I take those men prisoners?' In response Frémont waived his hand and said, 'I have got no room for prisoners.' They then advanced to within fifty yards of the three unfortunate and unarmed Californians, alighted

* *Memoir*: 520.

from their horses and deliberately shot them. One of them was an old and respectable Californian, Don José R. Berreyesa, whose son was then alcalde of Sonoma. The other two were twin brothers and sons of Yerba Francisco de Haro, a citizen of the Pueblo of Yerba Buena. I saw Carson some two years ago and since to him of this act and he assured me that then and since he regretted to be compelled to shoot those men, but Frémont was blood-thirsty enough to order otherwise, and he further remarked that it was not the only brutal act he was compelled to commit while under his command." José de los Santos Berreyesa, the alcalde of Sonoma, who, with his two brothers had been imprisoned by the Bears, says that his mother had sent the father to Sonoma to ascertain their condition. The three men were unarmed and were non-combatants. They had left their saddles on the beach and were walking up to the mission to obtain horses to continue their journey.* So far as is known, no one of them was connected with Castro's army. Kit Carson, G. P. Swift, and a French Canadian trapper of Frémont's company are named by contemporaries writers as constituting the firing party. Frémont wrote Benton, in the letter already mentioned, that three of Castro's party having landed in advance, that three near the beach: adding; "beyond this there was no loss on either side." This implies an engagement. If so, it was Frémont's only battle during the conquest of California. In his *Memoirs*, Frémont says: "My scouts, mainly Delawares, influenced by feelings of retaliation (for murder of Cowie and Fowler) killed Berreyesa and de Haro who were the bearers of intercepted dispatches."† Captain Phelps of the barque

* For the full text of these communications, see Appendix D.
† *Memoir of My Life*, 525. This does not agree with his statements to Benton, and both statements are false.

Moscow makes the statement that on the body of one of the men was found an order from Castro to De la Torre to kill every foreigner he could find, man, woman, and child. This absurd story has been repeated by several writers. It is said that the De Haros were carrying dispatches from Castro to De la Torre, which was probably the fact. The testimony of Jasper O'Farrell has never been impeached.*

The position of De la Torre was not a pleasant one. He was greatly outnumbered and even if his men were equals in arms, courage, and skill of those who were pursuing him—which they were not—he stood no chance of success in an engagement. He therefore prepared a letter announcing his intention to attack Sonoma the next morning (June 29th), and sent it out by an Indian to be captured by Frémont's scouts. The ruse was successful. Frémont hurried back to Sonoma where he arrived before daylight of the twenty-ninth and De la Torre quietly embarked his men—some seventy-five or eighty—in a lighter at Sausalito, crossed to San Pablo, and joined Castro at Santa Clara. On July 1st Frémont crossed from Sausalito to the old fort at San Francisco, Castillo de San Joaquin, and spiked the guns lying on

* Many writers of the time speak of this murder and a few attempt to justify it. Ide (*Biog. Sketch*, 190) says that the men fell on their knees and begged for quarter; "but the orders were to take no prisoners from this band of murderers, and the men were shot and never rose from the ground." Swasey (*Cal.* '45-6, MS. 10) says: "The firing was perfectly justifiable under the circumstances." Fowler (*Bear Flag Revolt*, 5), says: "The killing of old Berreyesa and two youths in the most wanton manner somewhat opened the eyes of the officers in command to the fact that they must assume a stricter control over the doings of their subordinates." He puts the blame on Kit Carson and a Canadian Frenchman, both of whom, he says, were drunk. Charles Brown, an immigrant of 1828, married to a sister of the De Haros, says: "The murder of José Reyes Berreyesa and the De Haros was a most infamous act." (*Early Events*, 25-6). The bodies were stripped and lay unburied where they fell for several days.

the ground, as has been told; and on the second, Doctor Semple landed at Yerba Buena with ten men, captured that valiant Mexican warrior, Robert Ridley, and sent him to join the other prisoners at Sutter's fort. Frémont announced to Benton that he had defeated De la Torre, driven him across the bay, spiked the guns of the fort, and had freed from all Mexican authority the territory north of the bay of San Francisco from the sea to Sutter's fort. He writes as if this was an important military campaign in which he had swept a large section of the country clear of the enemy. The guns he spiked were large and handsome pieces, he says, but he does not say that they were dismantled and lying on the ground.* Frémont's letter of July 25th gives to Benton the history of events as he wished them to appear, from the meeting to Stockton. He speaks of "Sonoma, in the department of Sonoma, commanded by General Vallejo," as if it were a real military department commanded by a general officer with, presumably, a military force. Again, he says: "At daybreak on the 15th, the military fort of Sonoma was taken by surprise," etc. The term "fort" implies to the general public, a fortified place defended by a garrison. There were no fortifications at Sonoma and there had been no troops there for two years. Vallejo's rank in the regular army was that of lieutenant-colonel,† and at this time he had no military command. None of these things are explained in the letter. The mission of Santa Clara was "a strong place" and San Juan Bautista was "a fortified post." There were no forti-

* See Gillespie's testimony: Note 40. Gillespie was with the party. Bancroft says (*Hist. of Cal.* v. 177): "So far as can be known, not one of the ten cannon offered the slightest resistance."

† He was also colonel of Second Regiment, *Defensores de la Patria*, a militia organization on paper.

fications at either place, unless the mission churches may be so termed. The statements made in this letter were used by Benton and repeated by the secretary of war, and form the basis of Frémont's claim to glory as conqueror of California; for the letter is a summary of his active military service. He made two trips to the south with his battalion but engaged in no more battles.

After driving De la Torre from the field Frémont returned to Sonoma and addressed the people, July 5th, advising a course of operations which was unanimously adopted. California was declared independent; the country was put under martial law; the force, now amounting to two hundred and twenty-four men, was organized into three companies with Frémont in command, and all pledged to continue in service as long as necessary for the purpose of gaining and maintaining the independence of California.

These proceedings ended the political career of that administrator, William B. Ide, who strongly resented the unwarranted interference of Captain Frémont. He had accomplished a successful revolution and now came this captain of engineers, after all was done, to claim the glory of a conqueror and to present to the United States, with his compliments, the fair province of California.

Leaving fifty men to garrison Sonoma, Frémont marched with about one hundred and seventy men to the Sacramento and moved up to his old camp on the American river on the 9th of July. It was given out, and it was so understood, that he was in "pursuit of Castro," but on the tenth an express from Captain Montgomery arrived with the announcement that Commodore Sloat had raised the flag of the United States. The Bear Flag war was ended.

On raising the flag at Monterey Sloat sent a summons to Castro at Santa Clara to surrender his forces to the United States, and at the same time invited the general and also the governor to a conference at Monterey, assuring the governor that though he came with a powerful force, he came as the best friend of California. Sloat's summons reached Castro at San Juan Bautista July 8th and that officer started southward with what remained of his army—about one hundred men—to join forces with Pico for the national defence.

Leaving Sacramento July 12th Frémont marched with one hundred and sixty men and two guns in hot pursuit of Castro, then in the neighborhood of San Luis Obispo.* On the seventeenth he reached San Juan Bautista where he met a company of dragoons formed from the sailors of Sloat's squadron and commanded by Daingerfield Fauntleroy, purser of the Savannah. Assuming command of the combined forces of the army and navy Frémont resumed his march and entered Monterey July 19th, where his fame had preceded him, and where he and his men created no little interest. The following picture is by Lieutenant Walpole of Admiral Seymour's Collingwood: "During our stay Captain Frémont and his party arrived, preceded by another troop of American horse. It was a party of seamen mounted. * * * Frémont's party naturally excited curiosity. Here were true trappers. These men had passed years in the wilds, living on their own resources. They were a curious set. A vast cloud of dust appeared first, and thence in a long file emerged this wildest wild party. Frémont rode ahead, a spare, active-looking man, with such an eye! He was dressed in a blouse and leggings, and wore a felt hat. After him came five Delaware Indians, who

* The distance between Sacramento and San Luis Obispo is about three hundred miles.

were his bodyguard; they had charge of two baggage-horses. The rest, many of them blacker than the Indians, rode two and two, the rifle held by one hand across the pommel of the saddle. Thirty-nine of them are his regular men, the rest are loafers picked up lately. His original men are principally backwoodsmen from Tennessee and the banks of the Missouri. * * * The dress of these men was principally a long, loose coat of deer-skin, tied with thongs in front; trousers of the same, of their manufacture, which, when wet through they take off, scrape well inside with a knife, and put on as soon as dry. The saddles were of various fashions, though these and a large drove of horses, and a brass field gun, were things they had picked up in California. The rest of the gang were a rough set; and perhaps their private, public, and moral characters had better not be too closely examined. They are allowed no liquor * * * and the discipline is very strict. They were marched up to an open space on the hills near the town, under some large firs, and there took up their quarters in messes of six or seven, in the open air. The Indians lay beside their leader."*

Walter Colton says:† "Monday, July 20th. Capt. Frémont and his armed band, with Lieut. Gillespie of the marine corps, arrived last night from their pursuit of Gen. Castro. * * * They defiled, two abreast, through the principal street of the town. The citizens glanced at them through their grated windows. Their rifles, revolving pistols, and long knives glittered over the dusky buckskin which enveloped their sinewy limbs, while their untrimmed locks, flowing out from under their foraging caps, and their black beards, with white teeth glittering through, gave them a wild, savage aspect."

* Walpole: *Four Years in the Pacific*, ii, 215-16.

† *Deck and Port*: 390-1.

These men were not United States troops; they were Frémont's "hired men," and this spectacular entrance must have satisfied even the theatrical soul of that young conqueror.

Comodore Sloat had heard at Mazatlan on the 17th of May of trouble on the Rio Grande between General Taylor and the Mexicans and on the thirty-first he learned of the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. On the 7th of June he learned that the ships of the United States were blockading the gulf ports of Mexico. His instructions from the secretary of the navy required him to take possession of the port of San Francisco and other ports of California immediately on learning that war had been declared between United States and Mexico.* Uncertain how to act, not having specific information that war had been declared in terms, though hostilities had begun, he sailed June 8th for Monterey where he arrived July 2d. Still uncertain, he sent an officer ashore to tender the usual civilities by offering to salute the Mexican flag, which honor was declined for want of powder to return the salute.† Larkin came on board and had a long interview with the commodore. On the third the commodore landed and called on the California authorities. On the fifth came a dispatch from Montgomery with an account of Frémont's doings. The sixth was spent by Sloat in consultation with Larkin and in preparation for landing. Larkin still hoping for a

* Later instructions from the secretary substituted the words "in the event of actual hostilities" for this sentence.

† "It was a matter of great surprise on the part of many officers that the commodore should have tendered these civilities, knowing, as we all did, that the Mexican government had already commenced offensive operations against our army on the Rio Grande, and that the squadron of the United States was blockading the gulf coast of Mexico." *Midshipman J. K. Wilson before Cal. Claims Commission, 30th Cong. 1st Ser. Senate Rep. 75.*

change of flag by consent of the California authorities, notwithstanding the acts of the filibusters, counseled delay, but the commodore, fearful of blame, would wait no longer and the next morning, Tuesday July 7th, after a demand for surrender, landed two hundred and fifty men under Captain Mervine and took possession.

On arrival at Monterey Frémont called on the commodore and in reply to a request for information told him that in what he had done he had acted on his own responsibility without any express authority from the government and that he knew nothing whatever about the breaking-out of war. Sloat was much put out by this piece of information and gave the captain distinctly to understand that in raising the flag at Monterey he had acted upon the faith of Frémont's operations in the north. Reports of the interview state that the commodore was violent in his denunciations of Frémont's conduct. He declined to adopt Frémont's plan of conquest or to accept the Bear Flag battalion as a part of the United States forces. In short, Sloat's decision left Frémont without any standing as a conqueror. Commodore Stockton, however, had arrived in the Congress a few days before and reported to Sloat for duty. Sloat who was in ill health and had asked to be sent home, had on July 23d made Stockton commander-in-chief of the land forces, and on the twenty-ninth sailed for home, leaving Stockton in command of the squadron. On receiving command of the forces operating on land Stockton immediately accepted Frémont's force of one hundred and sixty men, as a battalion of volunteers, giving Frémont the rank of major, Gillespie that of captain, and ordered the battalion to embark on the Cyane for San Diego for the conquest of the south.

Stockton was a conqueror after Fremont's own heart and on assuming command issued a proclamation* as false in its premises and as full of buncombe as any *bando* ever issued by Mexican revolutionist. He sailed on the Congress for San Pedro where he landed three hundred and fifty men and marched to Los Angeles without opposition from an "exasperated and powerful enemy" as he terms Castro's force, meeting Major Frémont's battalion just outside the town, and the combined forces entered the pueblo and raised the United States' flag without opposition or disapproval on the part of the inhabitants, Castro's formidable army having melted away and the comandante-general being on his way to the City of Mexico.

Considering the conquest of California complete, Stockton and Frémont returned to the north leaving Los Angeles in charge of Gillespie with a garrison of fifty men, and Santa Barbara in charge of Lieutenant Talbot with a garrison of nine. Stockton appointed Frémont military commandant of the territory and instructed him to increase his battalion to three hundred men for garrison duty.

On September 29th came the news of the revolt of the Californians in the south and Stockton sent Mervine in the Savannah to Gillespie's assistance and sailed himself in the Congress, October 13th. Soon came the news of Mervine's defeat at San Pedro and Frémont, now made lieutenant-colonel, sent his officers to enlist the immigrants arriving in large numbers in the Sacramento valley. On the 29th of November, Colonel Frémont began his march from the rendezvous, San Juan Bautista, with four hundred and twenty-eight men in eight companies of mounted rifle-men and a company artillery. Before he got off there occurred a sharp

* See note 37.

engagement at Natividad, in the Salinas valley, between a detachment of the battalion under Captain Burroughs and a party of Californians under Manuel Castro, in which Burroughs and three or four of his men were killed and a number wounded. The loss to the Californians, who slightly outnumbered the Americans, was three killed and four wounded.

Frémont swept the country of horses—with or without the consent of the rancheros—and he promised his men twenty-five dollars a month pay. One company was composed of Walla Walla and California Indians. The artillery, six pieces, was commanded by Louis McLain, passed midshipman of the Savannah. This officer had served as lieutenant of Fauntleroy's dragoons and his rank in the battalion was that of captain. Later he had the rank of major and was one of Frémont's commissioners in the treaty of Cahuenga. He resigned from the navy in 1850 and returned to California. He was for many years manager of Wells Fargo and Company's express and was the first president of the Nevada Bank, serving from 1875 to 1882.

The heavy rains made the march of the battalion slow and difficult. The route was up the San Benito and into the Salinas valley, up which they marched, then over the Cuesta de Santa Lucia to San Luis Obispo where they arrived December 14th. In the Salinas they captured an Indian servant of Don Jesus Pico whom they shot as a spy—a concession to the "feelings of the undisciplined men." Another outrage was the plunder and destruction of Los Ojitos, whose owner had two sons with the California army.* At San Luis Don Jesus Pico (called Totoi Pico) was arrested for breaking his parole, tried by court-martial, condemned, and sentenced

* Mariano Soberanes. He put in a claim before the commission for \$19,930 and was allowed \$423.

to be shot. His wife with her fourteen children and a number of women of San Luis, threw themselves at the leader's feet and begged for the life of the husband and father. Unable to withstand their tears and pleadings, to which were added the solicitation of his officers, Frémont granted a pardon to Don Jesus and made a life-long and very useful friend.

Santa Barbara was reached December 27th and after a week's rest the march was resumed and on January 11th the battalion occupied the buildings of the mission of San Fernando. Frémont had proceeded cautiously, having received exaggerated accounts of the number of Californians engaged in the revolt, and his respect for them had been increased by the affairs of San Pedro, Natividad, and San Pascual.

Advised of the occupation of Los Angeles by the Americans Frémont sent Don Jesus Pico to the camp of the Californians at Los Verdugos, just north of the pueblo, and Don Andrés Pico, realizing that further resistance was useless with his command reduced to less than one hundred men, made terms with the conqueror that protected the lives and property of his men; and on January 13, 1847, the war in California was ended, somewhat to the annoyance of that other conqueror, Commodore Stockton, who was put out to find that his clever young protégé had stepped in between him and his final triumph.

The controversy that arose between Kearny and Frémont is told in the note on the military governors.* On the 19th of January 1847, Stockton turned over to Frémont the civil command and on the twenty-second Frémont proclaimed order and peace restored, required the release of all prisoners, and ordered civil officers to

* Note 35.

return to their duties. In Los Angeles Frémont was recognized as governor and was able to borrow money and buy cattle for government use. Into his financial transactions I will not go. The government, after many years, paid some portion of the claims but the greater part, so far as I know, have never been settled.

On March 1, 1847, Kearny issued his proclamation assuming charge of California as civil governor and although Frémont continued for some weeks thereafter to issue orders as governor he was soon obliged to cease.

On March 23d Major William H. Russell, sometime "secretary of state" under "Governor" Frémont departed for Washington with dispatches and, it is said, a petition signed by Frémont's friends in the south for his appointment as governor. In May another petition was circulated in the north and received a number of signatures; but on June 14th a public meeting was held in San Francisco to protest against the appointment, his Bear Flag exploits and unpaid accounts of the California battalion being urged against him. The question of payment for property taken by the officers and men of the California battalion and by various irresponsible persons, as well as the pay of the volunteers, was a burning one, and Colonel Mason and Special Agent Larkin urged the payment of these claims as a means of reconciling the Californians to the change of flag; but it was not until 1853 that any part of these claims were paid, and a large number of them were never paid at all.

In his memoirs, in his letters to Benton, in his defence before the court-martial, in his testimony before the claims commission, and in the numerous statements of his admirers, Frémont's claim to fame as the hero of California is maintained on the following points: By his action in June 1846 he saved the lives and property of the American settlers in California; by his acts and

those of his fellow filibusters of the Bear Flag he prevented the acquisition of California by England through the McNamara grant and plan of colonization, and also ended the disposal of public land, it being the evident intent of the Mexican governor to place all the land in private ownership so that when the Americans came in there would be no land obtainable and finally by forcing prompt action on the part of the United States by means of the settler's revolt he prevented the English admiral from anticipating Commodore Sloat's action and raising the English flag.

In regard to the first plea: that of protection to the settlers from annihilation at the hands of a blood-thirsty Mexican—the statements are false in every particular. Captain Frémont in his letter to Senator Benton, before referred to, says: "I had scarcely reached the lower Sacramento (on his return from Klamath) when General Castro, then in the north—at Sonoma, in the department of Sonoma, north of the bay of San Francisco, commanded by General Vallejo—declared his determination immediately to proceed against the foreigners settled in the country, for whose expulsion an order had just been issued by the governor of the Californias. For these purposes Castro immediately assembled a force at the Mission of Santa Clara, a strong place, on the northern shore of the Francisco bay. * * * Castro's first measure was an attempt to incite the Indian population of the Joaquin and Sacramento valleys, and the neighboring mountains, to burn the crops of the foreigners and otherwise proceed immediately against them." Semple says in *Californian* May 23, 1847: "In this state of things, General Castro issued one proclamation after another, ordering foreigners to leave the country." As a matter of fact, General Castro issued no such proclamation; he made no threats of driving the Americans from the country; he did not incite

the Indians to burn the crops; he was not marching against the settlers with an army, and he had no force whatever north of the bay of San Francisco. The Americans of the Sacramento had nothing to fear from the Californians, and according to Bidwell this was as well known to the settlers as it was to Frémont; and the plea that the rising was a matter of self-defence, as he testified at the court-martial, had been abandoned and forgotten by General Frémont himself when he was consulted by Josiah Royce in 1884.*

In regard to the McNamara grant, Frémont testified: "The movement (Bear Flag) prevented the design of the Californians to place their country under British protection, and it also prevented the completion of the colonization grant of three thousand square leagues to McNamara, who was brought to California in the British sloop-of-war *Juno* in June 1846."†

The claims commission gave particular attention to this McNamara matter and all the witnesses were questioned concerning the effect of the Bear Flag rising on that scheme for bringing California under British influence. Hensley, Owens, and others testified that the settlers' rising put an end to it. The fact is that McNamara made his application to Pico, July 1, 1846, seventeen days after the capture of Sonoma; it was considered by the assembly on the sixth and sent back to the governor on the seventh of July with recommendation that the grant be made under certain conditions. It was undoubtedly the action of the Bear Flag party in June that caused the governor and departmental assembly to attempt to push the matter forward so rapidly. It was beyond the power of the departmental authorities to make any

* Royce: *California*, 122.

† 30th Cong. 1st. Ses. Senate Rep. 75. 12-13.

grant exceeding eleven square leagues, and the McNamara grant, after the action of the governor and assembly, would have to go to the supreme government at Mexico for approval. Sloat's occupation on July 7th, therefore, put an end to the scheme. This pretext on the part of Frémont and his fellow filibusters was an afterthought. The legend concerning the rivalry between the American and the English naval commanders as to which should out-manœuver the other and be first to raise the flag in California has ever been a great favorite with writers, and was brought before the claims commission to enhance the importance of Frémont and his Bear Flag allies. The inference of the various accounts is that Sloat, getting news of the outbreak of hostilities, outwitted his rival and reached Monterey first. Walter Colton in referring to the story says: "It has been often stated by American writers that the admiral intended to raise the English flag in California and would have done it had we not stolen the march on him. I believe nothing of the kind; the allegation is a mere assumption, unwarranted by a solitary fact. He had no such instructions from the British ministry."* Josiah Royce, in an article in the *Century*, prints a letter from Lord Alcester, who, as Lieutenant Seymour, was flag lieutenant to his uncle, Sir George Seymour, on board the *Collingwood*, in which he says that the admiral had no intention of raising the flag in California.† That the English government were active in trying to interest the English government in the acquisition of California we know, but we also know that their appeals were unheeded; and if it was the design of the British ministry to intervene in California, Frémont's course was calculated to accomplish that very

* Colton: *Dick and Port*, 393.

† *Century Magazine*, xviii, 779.

result by provoking the California authorities to ask for British protection.*

Realizing the weakness of Mexico's hold on California the foreigners settled in the country had for some time looked for a change in the government. Larkin, as United States consul, had kept the government fully advised. The British government had for some years been interested in the affairs of Alta California and it was thought that the leading men among the Californians would be glad to declare the independence of California and put the country under the protection of England. The administration of James K. Polk came in with the full determination to acquire possession of California, and in less than seven and a half months from the president's inauguration the secret dispatch to Larkin was sent. The active and efficient consul took immediate steps to carry out the wishes of his government which were in direct line with the work he was already doing and for which he was well qualified through his standing with the best people and his cautious and conservative nature.

Had there been no interference with Larkin's plans it is altogether probable that his influence and that of other prominent men, together with the general desire of those who had permanent interests in the country, would have prevailed, and California would have accepted a change of flag without protest. The special agent had secured the assurance of General Castro that he would favor independence from Mexico in 1847 or 1848, and from his knowledge, acquired in twelve years' dealing with Californians, he put implicit faith in their promises. But Larkin's intrigue, progressing as he thought to a successful issue, was rudely interrupted by the rising of foreigners, most of whom, he says, were unknown in the settlements.

* See Prof. E. D. Adams in *American Historical Review*, xiv., No. 4, July, 1909.

That the Bear Flag rising was no part of the scheme of the United States government for the acquisition of California is clear. Why then, should this officer of the United States army, in disobedience of orders, secretly and by circulation of false rumors of impending massacre and destruction, instigate a revolt and incite those rough borderers to acts of violence against those with whom it was his duty to cultivate friendly relations? His course shows that he deeply resented the humiliation put on him by Castro in forcing a retreat from Gavilan peak, and he was also informed by Gillespie that the officers of the squadron made unfavorable comments on his conduct. Besides, he knew from Benton, who was in the confidence of the administration, the designs of the government regarding California and his ambition prompted him to improve the situation unscrupulously for his own advancement. His whole conduct after reaching California showed his desire to provoke a fight.* There was absolutely no excuse for the Bear Flag rising. "The valley," says John Bidwell, "was peace and quiet. No settler, the truth of history compels me to say it, had any apprehension of danger."†

* Benton, in the letter to the president before alluded to, says: "I hope the information I am able to give, though all of a private character, written solely for the information of friends and never expected to go before the public (!) may be sufficient to relieve present anxieties, to disprove the accusations of Governor Castro, and to justify the operations of Captain Frémont. I make this communication to you, sir, upon the responsibility of an American senator addressing the president of the United States, and with the sole view of vindicating the American government and its officer from the foul imputation of exciting insurrection in the provinces of a neighboring power with whom we were then at peace. I could add much more to prove that Captain Frémont's private views and feelings were in unison with his ostensible mission—that the passion of his soul was the pursuit of science and that he looked with dread and aversion upon every possible collision either with the Indians, Mexicans, or British, that could turn him aside from that cherished pursuit."

† Bidwell to Willey, in *Royce's California*, 99-101.

Canada reveres the memory of the heroes of the Long Sault—the seventeen young Frenchmen who devoted themselves to death, stayed the Iroquois' invasion and saved their country from destruction. Our children are being taught to revere the memory of the heroes of the Bear Flag; the men who brought war into a peaceful community and to a people from whom they had received nothing but kindness and hospitality; a war, unjust and unnecessary, that left behind it a heritage of bitterness and hate that sixty years of peace have not entirely eradicated. And the young hero? He had a powerful protector in the person of his father-in-law, and the Mexican war came in time to save him from the consequences of his disobedience. His letter of July 25th showed clearly how grossly outraged and insulted he had been by Castro in March and how necessary had been the subsequent operations in the Sacramento and Sonoma valleys for the protection of the lives of his party and of the American settlers. The cabinet of Mr. Polk could not be expected to confess their intrigue for the peaceful possession of California and Frémont's statement became history. He was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the United States army and was made governor of California by Stockton. He established his headquarters in Los Angeles, in the house of Alexander Bell, the largest house in town, and kept an armed sentry at his door night and day. So set up was he with the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war that he defied the authority of his superior officer and got himself court-martialed. Here again did fortune stand by her favorite, for though condemned by the court, he was made a martyr and the president of the United States remitted the penalty on account of the previous services of the accused. Frémont was defended by his father-in-law, who, being allowed free range by the court, insisted on



trying Kearny for his alleged misdeeds in California and for his persecution of Frémont. "After the conspiracy of Cataline," said the venerable senator, "Cicero had a theme for his life; since this conspiracy against Frémont, and these rewards and honors lavished upon all that plotted against his life and character, I also have a theme for my life."*

Frémont's entire statement before the court-martial regarding the conquest of California rings false and is calculated to and did create an erroneous impression concerning that historic event. "The defile of San Fernando was also passed," says the lieutenant-colonel, "a corps which occupied it falling back as the rifles advanced. We entered the plain of Cowenga, (San Fernando valley) occupied by the enemy in considerable force, and I sent a summons to them to lay down their arms or fight at once. The chiefs desired a parley with me in person. I went alone to see them (Don Jesus Pico only being with me). They were willing to capitulate with me; the terms were agreed upon. Commissioners were sent out on both sides to put it into form. It received the sanction of the governor and commander-in-chief, Commodore Stockton. It was the capitulation of Cowenga. It put an end to the war and to the feelings of war."†

Napoleonic sentences these; but what were the facts? The Californians had less than one hundred men under arms. The plain of Cowenga was "occupied by the enemy in considerable force." Impossible! the enemy had no force. The leaders were at the rancho of the Verdugos in consultation as to the best course to be pursued.

* 30th Congress 1st Session: *Congressional Globe*, 1847-8. Appendix.
Benton's speech in the United States Senate on promotion of General Kearny.

† 30th Congress 1st Session, Senate Doc. 33, 379.

There was no thought of further resistance. All that could now be done was to secure the best terms possible. Flores had turned over the command to Andrés Pico and was on his way to Mexico. Don Jesus Pico appeared with Frémont's summons. Don Andrés thought they could obtain better terms from Frémont than from Stockton who had exhibited great arrogance towards them. He dictated the terms which were readily agreed to by Frémont. The statement that they received the sanction of Commodore Stockton is correct, but they were not submitted to him until the peace was signed and the Californians had departed for their homes. The taking upon himself of terms of surrender when his commanding officer was within an hour's ride was a remarkable exhibition of nerve on the part of the young Napoleon.*

Frémont declined the president's clemency and resigned his commission. He organized a fourth expedition in 1848 and lost a number of his men in the mountains. In 1850 the California legislature elected him United States senator for the short term, and in 1856 he became the candidate of the newly formed Republican party for the presidency. The managers of the party wanted a candidate who was not identified with the bitter war between the Whigs and Free-Soil men. Frémont had the peculiar advantage of having no political record to contend with, and it was thought that his nomination would insure at least the neutrality if not the active support of Thomas H. Benton and his friends in the west. The stories of his romantic conquest of California materi-

* "The Californians met Colonel Frémont on the 12th instant on his way here, who, not knowing what had occurred, entered into capitulation with them. * * * I have thought it best to approve it." Stockton to Bancroft. *30th Cong. 1st Sess. Doc. 1*. Frémont was advised by Kearny that they were in possession of Los Angeles.

ally strengthened his candidacy and much was said concerning his immense wealth, for had he not refused two million dollars for the Mariposa rancho? At least that was one of the many fables concerning him that went uncontradicted. So men like Summer, Wilson, and Chase were passed by and the conqueror of California received the prize. Great things were expected of California, but the people did not grow enthusiastic over the nomination of Frémont. The years that had passed had dimmed the glory which, like an aureola, had surrounded the figure of the young explorer. No longer did the heroes of the Bear Flag stir their imaginations. They heard more about beef contracts, and unexplained financial transactions in which names of more or less unsavory repute figured, or bogus ore shipments from the Mariposa claim and all the disagreeable things that are raked up or invented for such occasions; and when the vote of California was counted it was found that Frémont had twenty thousand; Fillmore, thirty-six thousand; and Buchanan, fifty-three thousand.

In these latter days, however, the Frémont legend has acquired new life and is taking on the force and mystery of a northland myth. The unpleasant facts of history are pushed aside and forgotten. We see only the picturesque figure of the hero of romance and we hail him as pathfinder, explorer, conqueror. We give his name to our streets, and cities, and towns, and hold festivals in his honor. We dedicate schoolhouses to him and teach our children to look upon him with something of that reverence they feel for the founders of the republic. This is wrong. The people should be taught the truth. John C. Frémont is not the hero of California.* The liberal quotations from original documents in this article will show how events have been misrepresented in order to build up an unmerited reputation.

NOTE 32

THE REVOLT OF THE CALIFORNIANS AND THE
AFFAIR AT SAN PEDRO

On the last day of August 1846 Commodore Stockton appointed Captain Gillespie of the California battalion commandant of the southern military department, with headquarters at Los Angeles, and sailed for the north three days later. Gillespie was instructed to maintain martial law but to administer it with leniency. He was a brave and gallant officer, but he despised the Californians and was not the man to conciliate a proud and humiliated people and change them into friendly and willing citizens of the United States. He cared as little for the carefully drawn instructions of the home government as did his chief, Frémont, and he laid down very strict rules and regulations to be observed, the Californians thought, for the purpose of humiliating them. Los Angeles was ever the hotbed of a turbulent, lawless, and uncontrollable element, and it was not long before there was an outbreak. A few drunken vagabonds headed by one Cérbula Varela created a riot and fired on the barracks garrisoned by Gillespie and his men. The commander considered the affair an attempt at general insurrection and arrested several Mexican officers who had given their parole and were quietly living with their families. Many other prominent citizens, fearing arrest, fled to the ranchos and prepared to defend themselves. They had no sympathy with Varela and his crew, but considered the arrest of the officers a breach of faith, and the affair, which, properly handled by Gillespie, would have ended with those who began it, ripened into a general revolt. A force of three hundred men gathered in camp outside

of the pueblo, issued a proclamation and summoned Gillespie to surrender. They had but a few flint-lock muskets, *escopetas* (shot-guns), and lances, but no powder. John Temple's wife (a daughter of Francisco Cota) sent them two kegs of powder from her husband's store in Los Angeles and they sent out on the Colorado desert and got saltpetre and sulphur and made powder for themselves at the mission of San Gabriel. It was poor stuff, would throw a ball only five hundred yards, and when used in a flint-lock musket would flash in their faces. The first engagement of the war was the siege by fifty Californians under Varela of Chino rancho, where Don Benito Wilson with a party of twenty foreigners were in garrison. After an exchange of shots, during which one man was killed and several wounded, the Americans surrendered and were turned over to José María Flores who had been made commander-in-chief. The Californians now invested Los Angeles and called on Gillespie to surrender, offering to permit the garrison to march unmolested to San Pedro. Gillespie, who had sent a messenger to Stockton for relief, found his position untenable and accepted the terms. He marched out with his colors flying and drums beating and embarked on the merchant ship *Vandalia* at San Pedro. Santa Barbara was taken, Talbot and his nine men fleeing to the mountains whence they made their way to Monterey. On October 6th the Savannah sent by Stockton, reached San Pedro and the commander, Captain William Mervine, landed three hundred and fifty men and took no cannon and his men from the *Vandalia* marched on the morning of the seventh for Los Angeles with a force of four hundred men. He could obtain no horses and took no cannon from the ships. Remembering the promenade of Stockton with the men of the Congress the previous August, Mervine anticipated no trouble, though he took all the

precautions of a good commander. Flores sent José Antonio Carrillo with fifty horsemen to observe the movements of the Americans, and in the afternoon shots were exchanged between Carrillo's men and Mervine's skirmishers. At night the Americans occupied the buildings of the Dominguez rancho (San Pedro), below Los Angeles, and Carrillo received a reinforcement of forty men and an old four-pounder mounted on a pair of wagon wheels. There was more or less firing during the night by Carrillo, whose orders were to harass and delay the enemy but risk no general engagement. Early on the morning of the eighth the Americans resumed the advance, the marines and sailors marching in a solid square with Gillespie's men thrown out on either side as skirmishers. Soon they came upon the Californians drawn up in line of battle, waiting to receive them. In Carrillo's center was the gun in charge of ten men while forty horsemen were deployed on either flank. As the Americans came within range the gun was discharged and immediately dragged away by the reatas of the horsemen. At a safe distance it was reloaded and again brought into action. This operation was repeated several times with a loss to Mervine's force of six killed and six wounded. That the casualties were not greater is due to the poor quality of the home-made powder. Mervine, realizing the futility of attempting the pursuit of cavalry and flying artillery by seamen on foot, retreated, and his men exhausted by the heat and fatigue returned to their ships carrying their dead and wounded. Carrillo had fired his last charge of powder, but Mervine did not know that. The dead were buried on an island in San Pedro harbor, called Dead Man's island.*

* Dana says: "It was so named because of the burial there of an Englishman, commander of a small merchant brig, who was supposed to have been poisoned. *Two Years Before the Mast*.

José Antonio Carrillo, whose name has frequently appeared in this narrative, was the fourth son of José Ramírez Carrillo, soldier of the Portolá expedition. He was born in San Francisco April 11, 1796, and baptized José Antonio Ezequiel. He became alcalde of Los Angeles, member of the diputacion, elector, member of the (Mexican) congress, lieutenant-colonel of militia, comandante de escuadron, etc., and signed the peace of Cahuenga as Mexican commissioner. In 1849 he was member of the constitutional convention. He was a man of remarkable natural ability with a great taste for politics and intrigue. Hospitable and generous he would go far to oblige a friend or discomfit an enemy, and though easily placated, he was prone to sharp and cutting remarks. Foster relates that at a ball in Los Angeles Carrillo remarked of an officer of the Mormon battalion who was laboring through a dance with one of the California ladies, that the lieutenant danced like a bear. This being repeated made the Mormons very angry, and claiming they were insulted they stirred up a good deal of feeling over the matter. Colonel Stevenson wishing to pour oil on the troubled waters sent Foster to ask Carrillo to withdraw the remark. Carrillo received Foster with the greatest cordiality and in the most courteous manner. Foster explained and Carrillo at once announced his readiness to withdraw the obnoxious remark, adding with the most winning grace that the bear was a *paisano* (countryman) of his and great injustice had been done him in regard to his dancing. This was the best Foster could do and Colonel Stevenson arranged a meeting of Mormons and Californians to reconcile matters and promote good feeling. The meeting was held at the house of a prominent citizen who in the most hospitable manner received all that came, setting before them whisky, brandy, and native wines, and some of the early

comers imbibed very freely. The company was so great that they adjourned to the yard. Stevenson stated the matter and then gave Carrillo the chance to explain his remark. Carrillo began in a dignified manner but had uttered only a half dozen words when Captain Hunt* of the battalion, who had seven or eight stiff drinks under his belt, interrupted him and in a violent speech began a recital of the wrongs of the Mormons from the time of their being driven from Kirtland, Ohio, to their arrival at Council Bluffs; and how, in spite of it all, they had raised a battalion of five hundred men for the service of the United States and had marched two thousand miles, ill-clad and on half rations, and after all that an unregenerate Mexican with the blood of the Americans still red upon his hands dared to ridicule one of the officers because he could not dance. Then raising his arms aloft Hunt shouted: "By the sword of the Lord and of Gideon I am for free trade and sailors' rights." At this an old sea dog of a ship-master who had been left inside with the bottles came to the door, and in his anxiety to drink to sailors' rights lost his balance and rolling down the steps came charging among them like a cannon ball. In the confusion which followed Carrillo walked quietly to where his horse was tied, saying to Foster as he passed, "Sus paisanos son un atajo de pendejos borrachos" (His countrymen are a pack of drunken cowards), mounted and rode away, much to the relief of Foster who feared that his apology would be worse than his original offense.†

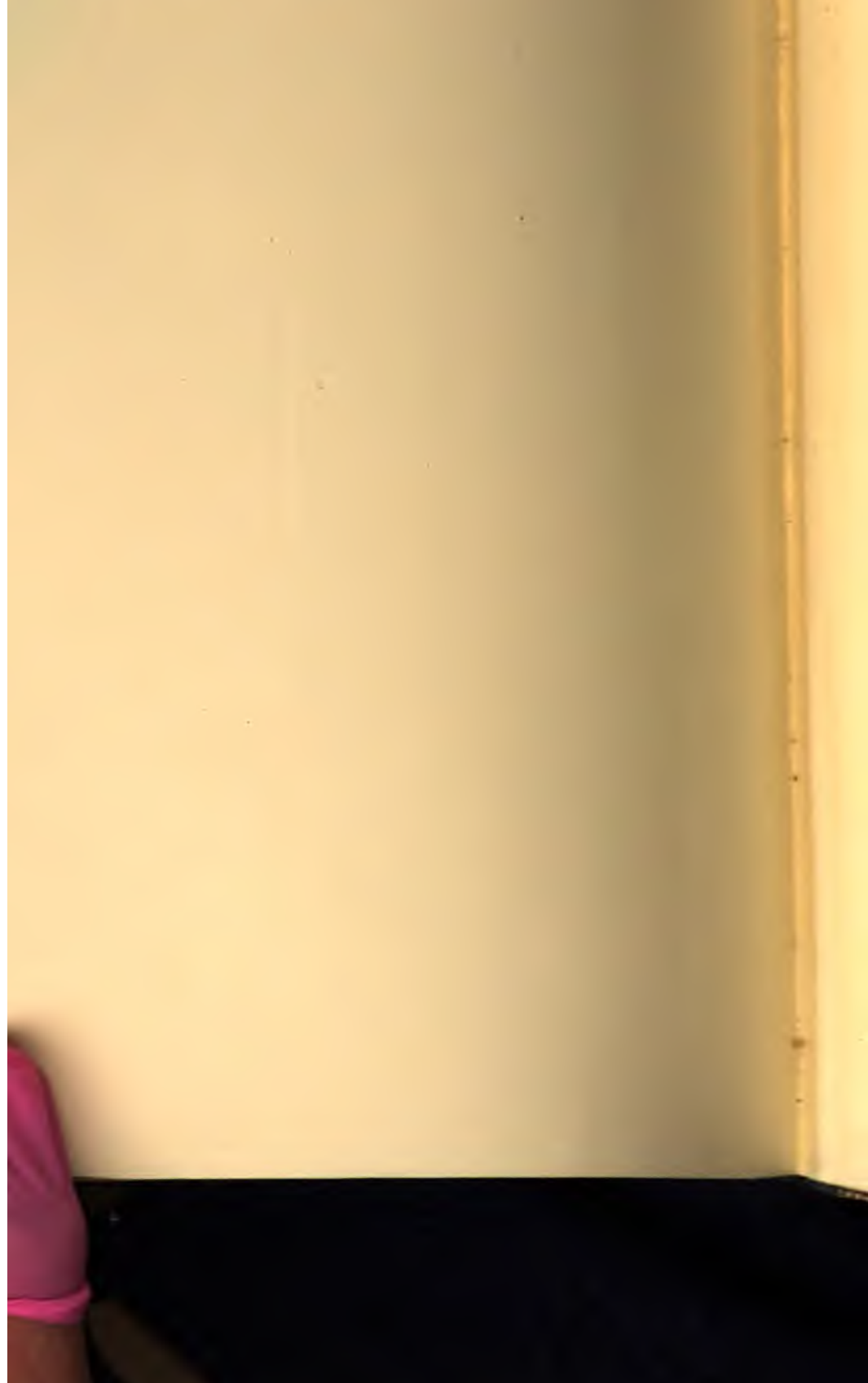
* Jefferson Hunt. He went to Salt Lake with the battalion, but returned to California later with the San Bernardino colony, and represented San Bernardino in the legislature in 1855. In 1856 he was made brigadier general of the First brigade, First division, California militia.

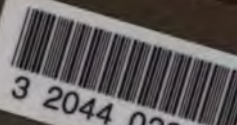
† Foster: *Angeles from '47 to '49* MS. 36.

In person Don José Antonio was tall and handsome, had a most urbane and courteous manner, and no man had greater power in winning friends. In his private affairs he was indolent and careless, like so many of his class, and never bothered himself about where the means were to come from, so that they came. In 1844 he was grantee, with his brother Carlos Antonio, of Santa Rosa island. He died in Santa Barbara in 1862. His first wife was Estéfana Pico and the second, Jacinta Pico, both sisters of Don Pio.









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